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THE ABCD'S OF RADIO AUDIENCES

By H. M. BEVILLE, JR.

The Research Manager of the National Broadcasting Company discusses the socio-economic stratification of radio audiences. Considering a selected group of radio programs of different types, he describes their relative appeal to the A, B, C, and D income groups, the composition of their audiences, and their actual popularity ratings by economic groups. The picture Mr. Beville presents will be of interest not only to radio advertisers, and educational and political broadcasters, but also to social scientists concerned with variations among social, economic, and cultural groups.

IT SEEMS to be common practice for those not directly connected with broadcasting activities to assume that their own radio listening habits are typical of the general audience. My own acquaintances are prone to consider "Information Please" among the top-ranking of all programs in popularity (and if I were to judge program popularity by the requests I receive for tickets to broadcasts I would be convinced that such was the case). Since radio listening is such a personal experience it is quite natural to expect this reaction from the lay listener.

Those closer to the broadcasting picture are, of course, far more sophisticated. They know about "surveys," have heard of "program ratings." In fact, some have even seen a "Crossley report" or at least some of the figures.

These "professionals" could quickly point out that "Information Please" isn't really in the select class—that it actually is in about 30th place in present CAB ratings. "But how can this be," you may ask, "when everyone I know faithfully follows 'Information Please'?" The answer is readily found in the following popularity ranking for this program (among evening half hour programs) based on its first six months under the sponsorship of Canada Dry (November 1938-April 1939):

Rank based on total audience	30
Rank in upper income group	9
Rank in middle income group	32
Rank in lower income group	47

These rankings demonstrate vividly what neither the layman

nor the initiate had considered—that under normal circumstances there is not one but many radio audiences; that radio listening habits vary enormously with economic, social, and cultural levels.

With the large audience deliverable by radio growing by leaps and bounds, it is small wonder that most of the attention of radio research has been directed at measuring gross size. To advertisers and agencies, to producers and performers, broadcasting has been a mass medium. Universally the question was, and still is, "How big is my audience," or, "What's our rating in the latest report."

But radio offers a "class" as well as a "mass" market. And, although total program audience must always be of primary concern, a dissection of this audience is of tremendous value to many who would influence certain strata. Actually, the "radio audience" is no more a homogeneous whole than is the population of the United States. It is composed of many "cells" which can be stratified not only by economic group but also by geographic region, community size and character, family size and composition, etc. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that from a standpoint of usefulness as well as significance the socio-economic stratification is of greatest importance. Not only is this of value to advertisers but to educational and political broadcasters, since there exists a direct relationship between economic status and cultural level.

THE CAB

Fortunately, an invaluable reservoir of data on the listening habits of principal economic groups is available in the semi-annual program audience reports of the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting, oldest and best known of the regular program survey services. This material for several back years was made available to the author for a special study for the Princeton Radio Research Project entitled "Social Stratification of the Radio Audience."* Before presenting here a few of the listening patterns that exist within various economic classes it might be helpful to see how these data were collected.

The Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (CAB) is sponsored jointly by the Association of National Advertisers and the

* Available from Office of Radio Research, 15 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, N.Y. Price \$1.00.

American Association of Advertising Agencies. The interviewing and tabulating is performed by Crossley, Inc. The CAB technique is known as "telephone recall." Calls are made four times a day to cover the preceding listening period: at 12:00 noon covering 6:00 a.m. to noon; at 5:00 p.m. for noon to 5:00 p.m. listening; at 8:00 p.m. for the 5:00 to 8:00 p.m. period; and at 9:00 a.m. the following morning for the preceding evening's listening after 8:00 p.m.

Interviewing is conducted in 33 major cities 24 weeks a year, during the first and third weeks of each month. A total of 750 calls are made in the 33 cities during each period each week. The ratings contained in the bi-weekly reports are based on two weeks' interviewing, so that the total base for a program rating is 1500 calls. These bi-weekly reports give advertiser, agency and broadcaster a valuable measurement of audience trends.

One of the two major features of the technique employed by the CAB which distinguishes it from practically all other telephone surveys is its distribution of calls within cities to get proper economic class samples. (The second major difference is the use by CAB of recall interviews while most other surveys employ the coincidental technique, calling while the program is actually on the air.) These socio-economic groupings are obtained by a rental classification of the geographic section in which the telephone respondent lives. Calls are allocated to these various sections by proper selection of telephone numbers according to exchange and street address. Despite its limitations this method yields a very useful income group breakdown which possesses the important virtue of uniformity from city to city and year to year.

The income groups used by the CAB during the years covered by the study of the "Social Stratification of the Radio Audience" with their proper call distribution were as follows:

<i>Income Group</i>	<i>Approximate Equivalent Annual Income</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
A	\$5000 and over	6.7%
B	\$3000-4999	13.3%
C	\$2000-2999	26.7%
D	Under \$2000	53.3%

By combining all interviews over a period of months it is possible to get statistically reliable indexes of listening and program audiences by economic groups.¹

GENERAL LISTENING HABITS

Before analyzing audiences to particular programs by economic groups, it is important to know something about the general listening habits of each group. The table below gives an index of radio set use by each income group during four periods of the day.² In each case, total listening by all groups combined is taken as 100 per cent. We can thus see how general listening by each income group varies from the "norm" for the total radio audience.

	Income Groups				All Groups
	A	B	C	D	
6 a.m.-12 noon	62%	93%	116%	92%	100%
12 noon-5 p.m.	59	92	116	93	100
5 p.m.-8 p.m.	80	98	110	89	100
8 p.m.-12 midnight	82	97	109	93	100

No one of the four groups is typical of the whole so far as general listening is concerned. Group A is universally the lowest; C group, the highest—and the only one consistently higher than the index for the combined groups. The B and D groups are relatively similar and show a listening level considerably above the A but below the C group. What causes these differences? We can only surmise, but the influencing factors bearing on low listening in the A group must certainly include:

1. More money available for outside entertainment, thus minimum dependence on radio.
2. Wide range of social interests and activities, limiting time available for listening.
3. The average radio program is directed primarily to the lower economic groups making up the bulk of the audience, and therefore lacks interest for the A group.

¹ CAB now uses a somewhat different grouping involving 5 rather than 4 income classes for control purposes but furnishes reports only on three broad groups—upper, middle and lower.

² Based on the Monday through Friday average for two years (October 1935 through September 1937).

4. With higher educational and cultural standards, this group probably depends more on reading than on radio listening for news and information as well as for recreation.
5. Presence of domestic help allows women members of family more time away from home.

The B group, being intermediate between A and C, shows some influences from each of these. The C group's high level of listening should be readily accounted for by these factors:

1. Radio is the primary source of entertainment and culture because of limited budgets.
2. Most programs are directed toward this class, as the average of the radio audience and as the most important market for many radio advertised products.
3. Listening is preferable to reading as a means of getting information, news and entertainment because of lower educational and cultural standards.

The picture of D group listening presented by these data is somewhat confusing inasmuch as some of the factors making for high listening in the C group should be operative in even greater degree in the lowest social stratum. Data available from other studies by the Princeton Radio Research Project indicates that D group listening should be at least as high as that of the C group. It must be admitted that there is still some doubt about the general listening pattern of the lowest economic group. Research authorities are in general accord that this is the most difficult group to sample adequately, whether by telephone or personal interview. There are factors which would contribute to lower listening such as narrow fields of interest, expense of set operation, longer working hours, poor quality and condition of receivers, crowded living conditions. On the other hand, very little entertainment other than radio is available to this group. We know that the D group listens more to small non-network stations than other groups and since this type of listening is hardest to identify in recall interviews, this may be a contributory factor. A field which needs further study is whether the D telephone homes are truly typical of all D radio families.

RELATIVE POPULARITY

With the general listening habits of each income group in mind, we may now consider the relative popularity among the four groups of particular radio programs, classified according to type. In view of the marked differences in general use of sets among the income classes, an important adjustment to the income group ratings obtained from the CAB data was necessary in order to facilitate comparisons. Since the A group was generally low in set usage and the C group high, it would be expected that the A rating for most individual programs would be low and the C rating high. To compensate for this variable and put the income group ratings on a comparable basis, it was necessary to adjust the income group program ratings by the proper general listening indices. The actual calculation was merely to divide the income group program rating by the corresponding listening index, thus raising the rating when set use was below average and lowering it when set use was above average. The adjusted income group ratings were then related to the total actual rating of the particular program, which was considered as 100 per cent. Once this adjustment was made, it was possible to compare the relative popularity of individual programs among the four socio-economic groups on an equal basis.³

For purposes of comparison, a representative group of daytime and evening programs was selected. These were segregated into five rough classifications:

1. General entertainment—including all variety, comedy, and light musical programs.
2. Classical and semi-classical music—the symphonies, and somewhat lighter but high quality musical programs.
3. News—the commentators, the dramatic presentations, and the Broadway and Hollywood reporters.

³ How these adjustments were made can be seen from the following example of the adjustment in the income group ratings for Jack Benny, taken from the October 1935 to April 1936 report:

	<i>Total</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>
Actual rating	25.8	18.1	26.5	29.1	21.8
Set use index	100.0	78.0	101.0	108.0	93.0
Adjusted rating	25.8	23.2	26.2	26.9	23.4
Income group indices	100.0	90.0	102.0	104.0	91.0

4. Educational—talk and question-and-answer programs which by reason of presentation or appeal would be considered "educational" by listeners.
5. Dramatic—various types of dramatic programs with the exception of comedy drama ("Amos 'n' Andy," "Easy Aces"), musical drama ("Beauty Box Theatre," "Showboat"), and news drama ("March of Time").

In Table 1 will be found income group indices for a number of better known evening commercial programs for a winter season (either October 1935 through April 1936 or October 1936 through April 1937). Programs are ranked in order of their actual rating (total radio families = 100%). In studying these indices bear in mind that they show only the *relative* appeal of the individual program to the four income classes.

PARTICULAR PROGRAMS

It is no surprise to find that high ranking general entertainment features such as Jack Benny, Rudy Vallee, and Burns & Allen

TABLE 1

Relative Popularity Among Income Groups of Selected Evening Programs

GENERAL ENTERTAINMENT	Total Rating*	INCOME GROUP INDICES†			
		A	B	C	D
Jack Benny	25.8	90	102	104	91
Major Bowes	23.0	61	95	110	91
Fred Allen	21.6	75	96	107	94
Rudy Vallee	19.3	100	106	103	83
Burns & Allen	18.8	92	97	106	93
Bob Ripley	16.0	86	94	107	96
Eddie Cantor	15.2	81	93	105	103
Kate Smith	13.1	78	99	105	96
Maxwell House Show Boat	13.1	116	105	101	82
Amos 'n' Andy	13.0	68	86	111	104
Joe Penner	12.5	70	82	112	104
Pick & Pat	12.5	62	92	106	106
National Barn Dance	12.1	45	86	108	119
Lum & Abner	9.1	71	83	108	117
Manhattan Merry-Go-Round	7.5	55	96	107	119
Easy Aces	4.4	82	95	107	98

CLASSICAL AND SEMI-CLASSICAL		INCOME GROUP INDICES†			
MUSIC	Total Rating*	A	B	C	D
Ford Sunday Evening Hour	13.9	157	129	90	62
General Motors Symphony	11.7	172	107	92	76
Palmolive Beauty Box	10.1	145	113	95	80
Cities Service Concert	10.1	148	114	87	95
Lawrence Tibbett	9.9	160	122	92	62
Voice of Firestone	9.9	137	111	102	64
Andre Kostelanetz	7.9	154	128	91	72
A & P Gypsies	7.2	122	125	93	72
Philadelphia Orchestra	5.8	233	114	79	81
Contented Program	5.8	162	116	90	81
NEWS					
Lowell Thomas	12.0	94	114	103	77
Boake Carter	11.6	138	120	96	70
Walter Winchell	9.7	71	110	103	92
March of Time	8.4	114	125	98	63
Edwin C. Hill	7.1	180	106	97	68
Jimmy Fidler	6.1	98	115	95	95
EDUCATIONAL					
Professor Quiz	7.9	91	110	108	72
Cavalcade of America	7.3	85	107	104	81
Voice of Experience	6.2	52	100	106	103
Alexander Woolcott	6.0	153	138	87	70
Husbands & Wives	5.6	84	104	98	107
GENERAL DRAMATIC					
Lux Radio Theatre	22.6	98	107	102	84
First Nighter	15.0	66	89	110	102
One Man's Family	14.8	89	95	104	100
Gang Busters	13.8	67	93	109	100
Helen Hayes	10.9	117	106	104	74
Death Valley Days	8.1	86	90	105	97
Warden Lawes	6.6	80	88	108	100

* Total radio families interviewed=100%

† Income group rating adjusted for amount of listening of group and related to total rating as 100.

have a fairly universal appeal. On the other hand, it is of great interest to note the high audience ranking of Major Bowes and Fred Allen despite their relatively low appeal to Group A. This emphasizes the numerical unimportance of the over-\$5,000 income group. On the other hand the classical and semi-classical music

programs are all highly skewed toward the upper income group and show relatively low appeal to the C and D groups.

Some interesting observations can be made from studying the news category. Although Lowell Thomas and Boake Carter have practically identical ratings, the latter's appeal was far more "high-brow." This may in part explain Boake Carter's success as a Philco salesman and his short experience on the air for Huskies, a cold cereal with a broad market. Jimmy Fidler's "Hollywood News" seems to have about equal appeal to all income groups, whereas Winchell's audience suffers in the A group.

The "educational" classification (which includes a heterogeneous collection of programs selected because of their possibilities as educational techniques) indicates that the audience participation program and historical drama have broad appeal. In this connection it is interesting to note the audience stratification of the "Town Meeting of the Air," one of NBC's most successful public service features during the 1938-1939 season: upper group index 147, middle group 113, lower 75. This heavy skewing toward the upper groups is characteristic of educational programs of serious content.

In the dramatic group three old standbys—"Lux Theatre," "One Man's Family" and "Death Valley Days"—show a relatively uniform appeal to all groups. It is interesting to note the upper-class appeal of Helen Hayes who appeared in a script dramatic series distinguished by nothing but that famous actress' name.

With the exception of Sunday afternoon programs, which followed the same pattern as evening shows, most daytime programs analyzed were of two types—dramatic serials and home-maker talks. Only a few of these seemed to have as high appeal to the A class as to the other three groups, even after adjusting for the low total listening of this group. This would indicate that much of the daytime listening of the A group is probably to network sustaining programs, many of which are specifically directed to this group. For example, the NBC Metropolitan Opera broadcasts during the past season showed this type of stratification:

	<i>Upper</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Lower</i>
Index	178	110	65

On the other hand, there was a definite increase in daytime listening of the A group and a decided increase in the popularity of certain daytime features among A class listeners over the two-year period studied. Three popular dramatic serials showed the following change in A group index: "Mary Marlin" from 52 to 84; "Ma Perkins" from 57 to 74; "Betty & Bob" from 51 to 79.

Almost without exception, however, these daytime shows were relatively most popular in C group (\$2,000-\$3,000) which has been demonstrated to be the heaviest daytime listening group.

AUDIENCE SIZE

Thus far in this article, emphasis has been on the *relative popularity* among the four socio-economic groups of particular programs. However, this should not obscure the importance of *audience size*, certainly a most important consideration in a mass medium such as radio. This factor has two aspects, both of which merit mention at this point: (1) the composition by income groups of the total audience to a particular program (that is, the percentage of the total audience belonging to each income group); and (2) a comparison of the total number of people in each income group who listen to different programs.

Referring back to the distribution of telephone calls made by CAB (page 197), it is seen that more than half the total radio audience is found in the D group while the A and B groups combined account for only 20 per cent of radio listeners. With four-fifths of the total audience in Groups C and D, a breakdown of the actual audience of even the program with the greatest *relative appeal* to the A group will still show a preponderance of listeners in the two lower income classes.

For example, the Philadelphia Orchestra showed an index of 233 in Group A, but look at the distribution of its total audience:

	Rating Index	Per cent of Total Audience
Group A	233	14.2%
B	114	16.6
C	79	26.0
D	81	43.2
Program Total	100	100.0

In other words, 30 per cent of this program's audience is in the A and B groups, instead of the normal distribution of 20 per cent. Nevertheless, 70 per cent of the listeners to this "highbrow" presentation come from the groups whose income is less than \$3,000 a year. Table 2 gives the composition by income groups of the audiences for a selected group of evening programs.

TABLE 2
Composition by Income Groups of Total Program Audiences

	A	B	C	D	Total
Normal Distribution	6.7%	13.3%	26.7%	53.3%	100.0%
Philadelphia Orchestra	14.2	16.6	26.0	43.2	100.0
Ford Hour	12.1	20.3	32.7	34.9	100.0
General Motors Symphony	11.9	20.3	29.9	37.9	100.0
Helen Hayes	10.9	19.5	31.0	38.6	100.0
Andre Kostelanetz	9.7	19.2	30.5	40.6	100.0
Maxwell House Show Boat	8.3	17.8	32.4	41.4	100.0
Boake Carter	8.5	19.0	33.4	39.1	100.0
A & P Gypsies	7.9	19.1	32.1	40.9	100.0
March of Time	7.6	19.8	34.6	38.0	100.0
One Man's Family	5.0	12.7	31.4	50.9	100.0
Amos 'n' Andy	4.7	13.5	30.8	51.1	100.0
Major Bowes	4.3	10.8	30.1	54.8	100.0
National Barn Dance	2.8	7.7	29.5	60.0	100.0

The second consideration of audience size relates to actual numerical audiences within an income group. Table 3 illustrates this aspect of audience measurement by socio-economic groups.

Just as it was found above that the major portion of the audience to a symphonic program is in the C and D groups (despite relatively low ratings in those groups), it is also true that the highest actual rating (and consequently the largest audience) reported for the A group was Jack Benny. In other words, if it is desired to reach the largest possible audience with an annual income of more than \$5,000, Jack Benny would still be a better vehicle than the Ford Hour, even though this symphonic feature is exceedingly high in *relative appeal* to upper strata listeners. Despite the fact that Jack Benny has a greater relative appeal to the middle income groups than to the upper, nevertheless he still attracts numerically more A listeners than does the Ford Hour (24.4 per cent as against 20.3 per cent).

TABLE 3

Actual Popularity Ratings by Income Groups
(Percentage of Each Income Group Which Listens to Each Program.)*

	PERCENT OF LISTENERS WITHIN EACH INCOME GROUP			
	A	B	C	D
Jack Benny	24.4%	32.4%	38.2%	24.2%
Eddie Cantor	19.9	24.8	28.3	18.8
Burns & Allen	13.7	21.7	24.4	18.4
Major Bowes	11.4	21.1	27.7	19.3
Lux Radio Theatre	17.9	23.4	25.2	17.4
Maxwell House Show Boat	12.3	13.4	14.4	9.9
March of Time	7.8	10.2	8.9	4.9
Lowell Thomas	8.7	13.6	13.5	8.1
National Barn Dance	4.3	9.9	14.2	13.7
Pick & Pat	6.3	11.2	14.5	12.2
First Nighter	8.0	12.9	18.0	14.1
Gang Busters	7.5	12.5	16.3	12.7
General Motors Symphony	16.6	14.1	10.4	6.6
Ford Hour	20.3	17.0	13.7	7.3
Andre Kostelanetz	9.9	9.8	7.8	5.2
Alexander Woollcott	7.1	8.2	5.7	3.7

* Total radio families interviewed in each income group equals 100 per cent.

Likewise Jack Benny gets the largest number of D radio homes, despite the greater relative popularity of "National Barn Dance" and "Gang Busters" at this end of the socio-economic scale.

This study clearly points to the inadequacy of total rating figures for the purpose of giving a sponsor a picture of his audience. When he learns that his program has reached a rating of 8.8 per cent of the total radio audience, he should also want to know whether that 8.8 per cent looks like this:

	Total	A	B	C	D
Wayne King	8.8%	5.8%	8.4%	10.3%	7.2%
or like this:					
Helen Hayes	8.8	12.0	10.7	8.5	5.3

These two programs have the "same rating" but by no means the "same audience."

Similarly the educational or political broadcaster should be deeply concerned with the composition of his audience as a factor which seriously affects the achievement of his objectives.

MIRRORS OF WAR

Modern war is mirrored in the lives and attitudes of citizens behind the front. Two such images are reflected in the following letters, one by a German, the other by an Englishwoman, written to friends in this country during the early months of the war. Distorted pictures they may be, but probably representative of what war means to many other Germans and Britishers. Perhaps they will give some indication of what ordinary people in the war-torn countries are thinking and feeling.

Somewhere in England

DEAR CHARLES:

. . . At the moment I am sitting in the house of the Chief Warden and releasing him from his vigil by the telephone for a couple of hours, so I thought I would enjoy myself by writing to you. All wardens' telephones have to be watched night and day for the moment in case the dreaded "A.R.P. Yellow" (the first air raid warning) comes through. If this blessed telephone goes while I am alone in this house I shall assuredly jump out of my skin!

I think that, were you over here now, you would be astonished at the different atmosphere to last September [1938]. . . . An extraordinary, deep, resolute determination fills everyone in every walk of life; there does not seem the smallest shadow of doubt in anyone's mind, no matter what their age, or sex or class. The last year of tension and uncertainty has been pretty awful. Nothing seemed worthwhile and there seemed no reason to do anything, make any plans, or employ one's time by any profitable occupation, save that of drearily waiting for something one daren't really think about. We half-heartedly had A.R.P. rehearsals and black-outs, etc., but it seemed like a rather silly nightmare that wouldn't come true anyway, so why bother too much.

But the nightmare did turn out to be the sort that comes true, and miraculously one saw another picture of oneself and one's times and one's mode of existence changed forever overnight. . . . Today is very lovely; it is still and quiet. . . . But the telephone may suddenly ring, or the wireless will boom out something sickening, in which case the betting will be ten to one that

tomorrow will not be nice at all, or, if it is, I shan't be in a position to think so!

At the moment I am determinedly "sitting on the fence" as regards war work. . . . The country is swarming with well-meaning but officious women either in or out of uniform, who, in these early days, appear to me to behave remarkably like rather hysterical school girls before a terribly exciting party. . . .

It is certain that throughout this century, Germany is the only power that has really wanted war; has persisted in preaching war to its people, and forcing war on its neighbours. It is equally certain that for the last two centuries England has considered it her duty to fight the most powerful European power—first France, now Germany.

If only we could wallop them good and proper without this ghastly bloodshed! I believe the day will come when Germany will once again be split up into its pre-Bismarck states and Austria, Bavaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Prussia, Hanover and Saxony could all hob-nob together in a nice state of amicable independence. Anyway, it might last for a few years, one never knows one's luck. But before long some other stinker, of a similar make-up to the Emperor Wilhelm or Hitler, will rear his sickening head and preach blood, thunder, and unity to another generation of credulous little bastards, and it will start all over again.

Personally, I'm sick to death of wars. The first one ruined my early life and, by taking two brothers, broke my family life. Now after years of uncertainty and financial insecurity, this one is making my middle age very uncomfortable indeed, if not hideous and brief. Yes, I'm heartily sick of wars. I hate making black curtains, creeping about in the dark, and breaking into a cold sweat every time the telephone rings. I hate not being able to think straight or believe in anything. I love England and the English countryside with an overwhelming, hereditary passion, and I hate knowing that I shall very probably die rather senselessly because of it. I hate, too, having to buy a bicycle because of petrol rationing that only allows me to use in a month what I normally use in less than a week; I hate the way my legs ache as I grind along possessed of naught but the blackest thoughts;

I hate the thought of coal rationing coming in and the cold weather coming on; I hate my income diminishing and prices going up. . . . Yes, I do certainly hate all this very sincerely, but I know that the idea behind all this is a good idea. I know that, unbeliever and casual-liver though I may be I cast all these petty and selfish hates aside and will most willingly march to war, *this* war, with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other. Somehow, Charles (and you may be thinking me mad as a hatter), it seems to me that sort of war. It's *got* to be won, and it will be won, for sooner or later the power of good must prevail against the wave of this particular and detestable insanity that is born of Nazi double-dealing, fostered untruthfully on German soil and thundered forth, ding-dong fashion, by European guns in an utterly suicidal manner. And if I am "as mad as a hatter" to say and believe this, then I know that my madness is shared by everyone in this country of all ages and all classes. . . .

One is almost dreamily conscious of one's life ebbing away these days, held by somewhat fragile and uncertain threads. It seems that things will most definitely go either one way or the other; that there can be no half measures or compromise. Oh! dear God, if *only* the neutral countries would come in before it is too late. They could stop this wholesale and ridiculous murder without shedding a drop of blood themselves. With their weight thrown into the scales, the balance would inevitably turn the right way for humanity; this rampant evil could be checked and ultimately destroyed for a generation or two, and the power of good would prevail. But there is no doubt that the spirit of the English people in this war is a thundering crusading spirit, in which—as far as the "man and woman in the street" are concerned—there is no personal gain whatsoever. They are driven and upheld by an overwhelming desire to see this cruelty and oppression ended.

So goodbye and God bless you.

With my love and the best of good wishes,

Ever yours affectionately,

GWENDOLYN

Somewhere in Germany

LIEBER HERMANN:

We were very glad to receive your dear letter. We know that you feel with us and think of us during this time. It is not yet decided whether there will be another *World War*. Chamberlain still has the last word. Here nobody wants war. We still remember enough from the last war, but if it must be, perhaps England will this time experience another kind of war from that of 1914-18. . . . We will just have to await the result with peace of mind. I can still see Loren's astonished face when I expressed my judgment about the English, or rather about the English leaders. . . . Time has proved that I was right.

It's a pity that Erik, who was one of the first at the West Wall, has been forced to believe in it. Immediately after the rebuilding of our army, he wanted to become an active officer at once and reported voluntarily. . . . He was going through preliminary training. He constructed some mines near the West Wall. Then he met an accident through one of his own mines. Some days later the French died from another of his mines during an attack. Little Bruno has also fallen. We shall never hear him play the fiddle again. Along with this I send the death notice from the newspaper.

We lack for nothing here. We have always received sufficient foodstuffs. It is always divided justly . . . so that people do not smuggle food and nothing is lost. We have enough of everything. Many a luxury one must of course do without. There is hardly any coffee at all, although there is malt coffee in abundance. We have already accustomed ourselves to it so that we no longer miss real coffee. . . . We know that these conditions will remain exactly as they now are and that these rations will continue. . . . One arranges his life accordingly.

The English, with their idea of starving us out, will certainly be deceived this time. . . . What would really be lacking to our industry, etc., we will get through the great hole in the East. Just as in their politics of former years, the English this time have bet on the wrong horse. . . . We lack for nothing. We have what is necessary. The girls would like to wear silk stockings sometimes. They now wear artificial silk stockings, but they don't last very

long. They will be darned again. . . . Autos and benzine are released for business purposes. We are riding our bicycles again. The army bureau has my auto. The pay for it was right good. I have never paid an increase in taxation as gladly as the present increase on incomes. We must make sacrifices. They are divided justly, so one makes them gladly.

Jewish war profiteers do not exist with us this time. And against this people, against this native, determined, united people England thinks she will win the war—against this government, against our Hitler! . . .

Most cordial greetings to you all,
from your,

HEINRICH

P.S. Brandt was very sad that he was not chosen as an aviator during the very first days. . . . Now he is being trained in the manufacture of machine guns. The war always takes the best. . . . With Erik I never had a quarrel. He was a lad who was fond of life.

THE PUBLIC OPINION POLLS: DR. JEKYLL OR MR. HYDE?

In recent years, public opinion polls have become an important phenomenon in American public life. Condemned by some, praised by others, they are now a focus of interest and of controversy. The Editors of the *QUARTERLY* therefore believe it timely to present a comprehensive discussion of some of the major problems raised by the polls. What is good about them, what bad? What are their limitations, what their virtues? Needless to say, the *QUARTERLY* maintains an attitude of impartiality in this debate and does not necessarily endorse any of the views expressed in this symposium. The discussion is introduced by Hadley Cantril, social psychologist at Princeton University and Director of the Princeton Public Opinion Research Project.

As the twentieth century ushered in the automobile and the radio, it has also brought the development of the public opinion poll. But unlike automobiles and radios, public opinion polls are restricted in their use by the political climate of the country. Their development is possible only within a democratic framework. And, even within that framework, their continuance is encouraged only during a time of social change and controversy. The polls thrive on open or potential conflicts in opinion. It is no mere accident that public interest in the polls and technical improvements of polling machinery have occurred primarily during depression years which brought insistent, widespread problems and aggressive governmental action.

The history of public opinions polls—their early use by political parties, their refinement via the road of market research—has been frequently described. The general lines along which they operate, the differences between the incidental sampling procedure used by the late *Literary Digest* poll and the scientific sampling used by current poll administrators have often been pointed out. And people who know anything at all about modern polls, know that they, like Jim Farley, have predicted elections with uncanny accuracy. The polls do not claim infallibility, they count on about a three or four per cent error.

In the presidential election of 1936 the American Institute of Public Opinion (AIPO), Crossley, and *Fortune* surveys predicted that Mr. Roosevelt would receive the following percentages of the

total popular vote, which may be compared with his actual vote of 60.7 per cent:

	<i>Poll Forecast</i>	<i>Deviation</i>
AIPO	53.8%	6.9%
Crossley	53.8	6.9
Fortune	61.7	1.0

SUBSEQUENT ELECTION FORECASTS

Since 1936 the poll administrators have, they believe, refined their techniques, ironed out some snags. The American Institute of Public Opinion, for example, relied partially on mail ballots for its information in 1936. It now uses interviews altogether. During the past four years data have been accumulating which facilitate the construction of better cross-sections of the population. That some improvement has been made since 1936 is suggested by subsequent results of the AIPO. Table 1 gives the Institute's box score since then, taken from published results.

Table 1

	<i>Poll Forecast</i>	<i>Election Result</i>	<i>Deviation</i>
1937:			
Maine Sales Tax Referendum	Against 72%	Against 67%	5%
Detroit Mayoralty election	Reading 65	Reading 63	2
New York Mayoralty	LaGuardia 64	LaGuardia 60	4
1938:			
Maine Republican Gubernatorial Primary	Barrows 78	Nominated by 75	3
Kentucky Democratic Senatorial Primary	Barkley 59	Nominated by 57	2
South Carolina Democratic Senatorial Primary	Smith 57	Nominated by 55	2
Maryland Democratic Senatorial Primary	Tydings 59	Nominated by 60	1
Georgia Democratic Senatorial Primary	George 46	Nominated by 44	2
New York Gubernatorial election	Lehman 50.2	Elected by 50.7	0.5
Congressional elections	Republicans to gain 75 seats giv- ing them a total of 165 seats in House of Repre- sentatives	Republicans ob- tained 170 seats in the House	0.5

As many writers have pointed out, election returns are, after all, not perfect tests of poll predictions. Many variables enter in to keep some people away from the voting booth. The weather, transportation difficulties, party activity, intimidation of various kinds may distort the final vote but not affect poll results. Hence it could be argued that the polls may reflect the wishes of the electorate more faithfully than the elections themselves.

But still no other method remains to test the accuracy of the polls. And if we compare poll results with elections over the past four years, we must conclude that the polls have demonstrated their right to be taken seriously.

And they have been taken seriously. They have been heralded by some as the hope of democracy, they have been damned by others—on both the right and the left—as weapons inimical to the effective operation of American government. Certain editors and social scientists have lauded their techniques, certain Congressmen and columnists have roundly condemned them. Both praise and criticism have been frequent and widespread.

SYMPOSIUM

This issue of the *QUARTERLY* attempts to bring together under a single cover a serious discussion of the rôle public opinion polls do, or should, play in our social system, and of the reliability with which they represent true opinion. Since discussion of the merits of the polls has by no means been confined to academic cloisters, and since men in the world of affairs obviously have some stake in poll results and their possible effects, the symposium includes articles by both academicians and non-academicians. The reader will see that critics have not held their punches, that defenders have not hesitated to rise to the occasion, that social scientists and statisticians have tried to envisage the polls with some historical and methodological perspective.

The symposium begins with a vigorous statement by a sociologist who sees the majority of people incompetent to deal with the complex questions of modern government, who feels that the polls seriously jeopardize the work of experts who, because of the richness and range of their information, are better able to evaluate the soundness and consequences of various courses of

action. Government administrators then express their contention that if policy formation is to be realistic and efficient, it must be accomplished within a framework of accepted opinion which is, in part at least, reflected by the polls. A political scientist then compares the polls to other mechanisms that have emerged in this country for feeling the public's pulse. And a survey of Congressmen tells us to what extent the men on Capitol Hill pay attention to the voices of the American Institute of Public Opinion and the *Fortune* polls in arriving at their legislative decisions.

If the law-makers of the land are going to listen to the people, what will happen to our traditional form of representative government? It will disappear in favor of a pure democracy, the next writer maintains. He finds the prospects horrible to contemplate. But a man well known for his contributions to the field of opinion measurement sees the polls reestablishing after many years the kind of democracy we lost when the country became too sprawling for decisions to be reached in town-meeting fashion. And the judgment of the people he holds to be sound. A prominent newspaper publisher confirms this impression, pointing out that the polls help to debunk pressure groups and, by furnishing a mechanism whereby opinions on specific issues can be separated from attitudes toward certain candidates, aid in reducing the cloudiness of election years. But it is precisely during political campaigns that the polls do most damage, a Congressman contends. They enlarge the "bandwagon" vote so unfairly that they should be prohibited. Yet the poll administrators, whose article follows the Congressman's, find little evidence of bandwagon effect resulting from poll predictions.

TECHNICAL PROBLEMS

The remaining discussions are primarily concerned with the technical problems inherent in the polling technique. How faithful a picture does the poll camera take? And what kinds of pictures can it take? A social psychologist wonders if the polls can measure the intensity of opinion as well as its direction, if the polls ask questions in the ways most appropriate to get reliable answers. The next writer points to a variety of possible distortions

of opinion that may occur in the actual interview situation, where strangers confront each other and one tries to put the thoughts of the other in the proper categories on his interview schedule. The fundamental problem of sampling and the ways to determine the reliability of a sample are then discussed in as non-technical a fashion as any crack statistician can achieve. An article by a poll administrator tells how he apportions people according to the most important determinant of a representative cross-section, economic status, and how individuals are classified by this criterion in a culture where it is impertinent for an inquiring interviewer to ask a straight question concerning the annual income of the respondent. The usefulness and limitations of the polls in discovering opinion determinants are then considered. And the final article evaluates the questions asked by the polls and the answers obtained, from the point of view of social science.

OTHER PROBLEMS

Many other specific problems might also be raised. But at this early stage of our knowledge, few of them could be satisfactorily answered. There is, for example, the important consideration of the way questions are worded. No one knows better than the poll administrator how vital a problem this is. Gallup faced this issue when he devised the split ballot with different wordings on alternate forms of the ballot. Roper believes the matter of sufficient importance to warrant systematic experimentation, the results of the first experiment appearing elsewhere in this issue. No article has been included in the symposium on this important problem, simply because information to date is too inadequate to warrant any realistic interpretation.

One might also ask to what extent the polls determine the pattern of people's thought by what may sometimes be regarded as the limited nature of the questions. How much are personal shadings of opinion obscured when people must answer with a simple "yes" or "no," or by means of a restricted attitude scale? One might also wonder what kind of opinion it is that we get from a poll. Is there any way in which we can determine more accurately what lies behind that opinion, from what more basic frames of reference, from what system of values it derives? Perhaps more

comment analysis is needed, more interrelated questions on single issues, more information regarding the background of the respondent. If we could better understand the relationship of opinions to the personal lives of people, we might avoid the oversimplification of some arguments regarding the pro-and-con of the polls. We might better understand when and why wording is important, when and why there is a bandwagon effect, when and why we may expect opinion to be stable, when and why we should look for variations in different population groups.

The social scientist could pose problems that it would take him years to answer. The practical man of affairs or of politics can find equally practical men to contest the arguments he puts up. Modern poll administrators are themselves highly conscious of the fact that this new measuring device is only in its infancy, that everybody has much to learn. But while they and others are learning, the polls go on.

It is outside the scope of this symposium to discuss questions of ownership, regulation, and control. The attempt here is rather to give information that would facilitate reasoned judgment on such problems. Government operation of polls has its obvious disadvantages; the machinery for the public administration of the polls is lacking in this country; the tremendous cost of the regular surveys makes it unlikely that any non-profit organization would sponsor them. One inherent argument for the maintenance of the present state of affairs is that the very survival of polling organizations depends on their honesty and accuracy. So far no charlatans have survived. To discourage their emergence or survival, perhaps a public audit of the polls would be feasible. These are wide-open questions. But as the polls amass their data and continue to tell people what they think, these questions may become more insistent. Obviously they should not be answered by prejudice.

HADLEY CANTRIL
Princeton University

DEMOCRACY IN REVERSE

By Robert S. Lynd

In this article, one of America's leading sociologists criticizes the fundamental assumptions upon which public opinion polls operate, and suggests that they may impede necessary social change by encouraging the public's belief in its own omni-competence to judge complex social issues, and thereby interfere with a desirable trend toward expert direction and trained intelligence in public affairs.

No social scientist can view the recent rapid development of public opinion polls without considerable enthusiasm. Here social science is at work on the basic proposition that our institutions are not abstract Mohammed's coffins, suspended between sky and earth, but are rather grounded in and made up of the reactions of common people. And if one wants to deal realistically with what the United States is, more and more of the work of social scientists must drive straight through to the level of the habits of thought, sentiment and action of individual Americans of all types. So the public opinion polls are performing an important service, to science as well as to practical affairs, in forcing attention to the basic importance of the reactions of individuals.

Any new technique, however, is not complete in itself. Its efficacy depends on how and where and why it is used. And these last depend upon the fundamental assumptions and propositions of its users. Professor Gardner Murphy, in his presidential address to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues in 1938, said: "Undoubtedly a large part of our trouble has been an over-rapid development of research tech-

niques which can be applied to the surface aspects of almost any social response and are reasonably sure to give a publishable numerical answer to almost any casual question."

The point I want to make is that the perfecters and users of public opinion polls have thrown this important new technique into gear too rapidly and uncritically, without considering discriminatingly the framework of assumptions they are employing. Polls are news and they are also useful manipulative devices on the level of propaganda; but they may also have serious social effects which their manipulators fail to see or choose to overlook.

To be specific, our democratic institutions were formed in an era in which men had an oversimplified view of human behavior. Men were supposed to "act rationally" and men were supposed to be "free" and "equal." Such assumptions made the individual citizen a prime mover: he knew what was good for him; hedonism taught him that what was good for him was good for others; he knew the facts involved in a given matter, or, if he didn't, being rational, he went and got them before acting; and he could count on other persons' building this same sort of

continuously canny behavior into all that they did. But modern psychology has taught us (a) that men are rational only fragmentarily, sporadically, and with great difficulty; (b) that they are not free, but heavily and coercively conditioned by their past and by their surroundings; and (c) that in capacity they run the gamut from imbecility to genius.

Now, unless I am mistaken, the current public opinion polls take over naïvely the assumptions of the Founding Fathers about human nature and about democracy. They assume that men are rational, free, and equal, and that each citizen's opinion therefore has, and should have, a weighting of one, equal to any other man's. A "majority" becomes in some mysterious sense "right." And, as the individual citizen reads the results of a poll in *Fortune* or in his morning paper, he gets a comfortable sense that *vox populi* is in the saddle and all's right with democracy.

Our Complex World

Actually, we live in a world of rapidly increasing complexity. Science, invention, the shrinking of time and space through communication, are undercutting earlier assumed simplicities as to how things work. Diet, health, family life, business, industry, foreign trade, democratic government, and all the rest of living are being transformed into a bristling array of technical formulae and expert choices. As a result, a major problem democracy faces is to persuade the individual citizen that things are not as simple as he has been wont to believe, that he is not

as competent as he thinks he is, and that many issues cannot be solved simply by people's taking positions "for" or "against" them and then totalling up "the truth."

Whether we like it or not, the central issue this generation faces is the change-over from *laissez faire* individualism to the centralized coordination of complex things important to the living of the mass of the people. This entails the relinquishment by the mass of citizens of their traditionally assumed omni-competence, their recognition that complex matters require expert direction, and the re-structuring of democratic action to give clearance to trained intelligence, providing at the same time adequate democratic controls periodically over broad matters of policy. In other words, we must persuade our citizens to take their hands off the *details* of intricate public matters and to recognize the need of delegating decisions in the highly specialized and intricate world of today to expert surrogates.

A close but sturdy line must be drawn between such a course and the quit-claiming of democratic rights under some form of fascism. But to say this is simply to state the problem we perforce face: the discovery of how to use trained intelligence and centralized direction within a framework of genuine democracy. Too much of our current democracy, operating uncritically under naïve assumptions inherited from the past, is a deceptively spurious cloak for highly undemocratic power tactics.

Now, as regards any such goal, the public opinion polls are working in

reverse. They operate actually to confirm the citizen's false sense of security in totalling up "what the majority think." As such, they often obstruct the necessary line of movement ahead in public affairs. And the false sense of the public's being "boss" that they encourage operates to narcotize public awareness of the seriousness of problems and of the drastic social changes many contemporary situations require. In Chapters III and VI of *Knowledge for What?* I have tried to state my own sense of the log-jams in our American culture and of necessary lines of action ahead. Whether that particular statement is right or wrong in detail, the following generalization is certainly in order: We Americans have a false, and therefore dangerous, sense of complacency about ourselves and about the rightness of many of our inherited ways of doing things; and a crucial need today is to encourage an attitude of hospitality toward intelligent change.

Truth By Nose-Counting?

The danger in the popularization of public opinion polls is not that the technicians who operate them have an axe to grind and therefore introduce an active bias. Rather, the danger is that, in their eagerness to be "objective," they eschew all effort to formulate social propositions about public opinion. And this tends to mean too often that a basically useful device is allowed to operate as an ally of outworn and obstructive popular assumptions. The men who take the polls do not for a minute assume

that they total up "the truth" about an issue. But their published results, operating within the going matrix of naïve popular beliefs about the relation of the individual citizen to democratic action, aid and abet the citizen in his propensity to believe that the truth somehow mystically lies with "the majority."

Our American traditions discourage our government from a systematic, long-term policy of reducing lags through continuous application of intelligent education and propaganda at all points in current living where intelligence suggests the wisdom of social change. Sooner or later we will forsake *laissez faire*. Meanwhile, public opinion polls can help to that end by an active policy of polling people stratified by competence on a given problem, aimed at disclosing and hammering home to the public the operational poverty of mass opinion on the details of many public matters involving social change. Mass conservatism as regards intelligent things that must be done is irrelevant save as an obstacle to be removed.

A major barrier to such a socially constructive use of public opinion polls is that these polls are in private hands for private profit and Dr. Gallup and *Fortune* live and grow rich by perpetuating the public's sense of the competence of its opinions. The bigger and more complex an issue, the more does it clamor to them for a poll. And, as the world of business is run, those who live by taking polls can hardly be expected to disabuse the public of its false confidence.

STRAW POLLS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

By Henry A. Wallace and James L. McCamy

The Secretary of Agriculture and his assistant discuss the use of public opinion polls by policy-making officials to the end that administrative programs may conform to the public will in the interests of efficient democratic administration. Secretary Wallace is among the first public officials to receive a public opinion rating through straw polls, a recent Gallup survey indicating that 73 per cent of U.S. farmers think he has done a good job as Secretary of Agriculture. Mr. McCamy is on extended leave from Bennington College, where he is Professor of Government, to serve as one of Mr. Wallace's four general assistants; he is the author of *Government Publicity*, which is reviewed in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

ONE ASPECT of reality which observers of government need to keep in mind is this: Much of public policy is determined in the executive branch. For example, the legislature may declare a large over-all policy and leave to executive discretion the formulation of detailed policy within the broad frame. The public consequences of administrative orders and regulations that make up the detailed interpretation of large legislative policy can be almost as significant as the consequences of the legislative policy itself. Or the executive branch may collaborate with the legislative branch in the formation of general policy. Executive officials appear before legislative committees, write reports on bills, confer with legislators informally on drafts of bills, and share ideas and aspirations in personal meetings between men of good will toward each other.

Periodic elections can register public protest or consent after policy is formed, and letters, telegrams, hearings, interviews, and publicity can be useful in getting to the policy-making officials the views of groups that can afford to pay the cost of a secre-

tariat. The executive official charged with making administrative policy needs to work closely with interest groups as a way of ascertaining public opinion. He also needs a way to find the opinion of those citizens who are to be affected by executive public policy but who are not represented by delegates from organized groups. Such unrepresented citizens may be outside organized groups, or they may be in the rank and file of an organized group but not given an accurate representation of their will by their secretariat at the seat of government.

Efficiency and the Public Will

Above all, the executive official knows that a policy that does not conform to the will of the people to be affected creates overwhelming difficulties in its administration. Real efficiency comes not only from good organization and smooth procedures but also, to an even greater extent, from the willingness of citizens to accept the policy and to share in its administration.

An example may add point. When the United States Department of

Agriculture decided that its policy in the distribution of surplus foods to citizens on public relief could be improved administratively, by a partial shift from direct distribution to distribution through retail grocery stores to holders of food stamps, it began to gather opinions. The grocers were represented by their organizations which happened to have sensitive executives to speak for them. The state and local welfare officials, who certify receivers and issue the stamps, could be sampled through their organization and also directly, since they were few in number and the plan was inaugurated slowly in only one city at a time. Both of these groups approved the plan and shared in the detailed formation of its administration. For the people on relief, however, no organization could express group opinion. Although discussions were held with the national officers of the Workers Alliance, it was felt, even by them, that it was possible to get the opinions of relief families only from the families themselves or a cross section of them. Refusal to buy the stamps would have meant almost certain collapse of the plan's administration. Large imponderables were involved, not the least being the question of whether relief clients would willingly stop going to food depots, where they found only others mutually unfortunate, in order to go to regular grocery stores where they might stand in line to pay in stamps while others paid in money. A sampling of opinion among relief clients might have been used to great advantage at the time the program was being formed. Fortunately, in this par-

ticular case, the first test of the plan removed all doubt that the relief clients would use the stamps.

Sampling Opinion

Public officials in both the legislative and executive branches have always sampled opinion. They follow news slants and editorials, in some cases having clipping services or digests. They make trips and talk with leaders, and they ask questions of people who come to see them. They read letters. Most of this kind of sampling is still intuitive. The public official gets impressions from his relatively unsystematic efforts to discover the desires and feelings of the people affected by administrative policy. With regard to certain kinds of problems, this intuitive sampling will probably always have an advantage over the more formal poll, no matter how scientifically conducted.

Within recent years the Gallup and *Fortune* polls, by more precise techniques, have given the executive opinions on certain broad questions of relevance to administration.

The Works Progress Administration, for example, was assured that work relief instead of a cash dole was preferable to 74.5 per cent of those questioned in the *Fortune* survey of October 1936. The Social Security Board was assured by both polls that old-age pensions administered by government were strongly favored. The United States Public Health Service, which had been conducting its "anti-v.d." campaign, learned from three separate Gallup polls that Americans were nine to one in favor of governmental action toward controlling venereal disease.

More recently, the Department of Agriculture saw a Gallup poll of March 17, 1940, reveal that 66 per cent of all farmers thought the present farm program had helped farmers. This vote was in contrast to a 52 per cent opinion ten months earlier, in May of 1939.

Governmental Polls

In fact, the type of information provided by polls has so much relevance to the democratic conduct of administrative affairs that one may predict the systematic collection of citizens' views as a future accepted function in public administration. Already the Department of Agriculture has in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, which is the agency planning departmental programs, a division to conduct a continuous analysis of understanding and opinion among the citizens affected by those programs. It has not yet existed long enough to permit an evaluation of its work, but the important point, it seems to us, is the very existence of the division. Here is recognition in an administrative

agency that the understanding and opinion of citizens concerned with administrative policies is just as much an essential part of the administrative process as budgeting or personnel or organization. A systematic effort to make programs conform to public will is close to the heart of efficiency in democratic administration.

The complexity of the job that government has to do is great. It requires that if administration is not to break down of its own size and complexity, continuous lines of communication, in addition to periodic elections, must be kept with the various publics affected by administrative policy. If the people affected do not like a policy, the administration of that policy becomes weighted with difficulties that produce inefficiency. And when continuous communication between government and the affected public does not exist, the people fail to enjoy the benefits of direct representation in the formation of policy within the executive branch of government.

THE POLLS AND OTHER MECHANISMS OF DEMOCRACY

By Harold F. Gosnell

The author, political scientist at the University of Chicago, compares public opinion polls with other democratic instrumentalities, such as the initiative, referendum, recall, legislative hearing and commission of inquiry.

THE THEORY of democracy postulates that authority is to be exercised by those who have to submit to it. But how in practice is it possible for a sovereign of 45,000,000 adult citizens as in the United States to exercise power? To implement the democratic theory it has been necessary to invent the mechanisms of the ballot, representative government, political parties, legislative hearings, advisory councils, the initiative, referendum and recall, etc. Most of these devices made public opinion available only at infrequent specified intervals. As long ago as 1888 Bryce stated in his *American Commonwealth* that it would be desirable to keep in touch with the state of opinion at all times but he had no conception as to how the mechanical problems involved could be solved.* The public opinion poll has added another device to the kit of tools available to make the popular form of government workable.

Straw polls have been taken in the United States for at least forty years but it is only in the last five that the technique of the public opinion survey has developed very rapidly. The colossal fiasco of the *Literary Digest* post card poll of 1936 has focused attention upon the method of the small representative sample as developed by Gallup, Crossley, Roper

and others. These investigators use the interview method and select a sample that runs to only four or five figures but which is as near as possible a cross section of the entire population. Where necessary the sample is weighted to conform to the estimated strength of given groups in the universe sampled. While the method is still in the experimental stage, presenting many unsolved problems and lacking in prestige, no one can deny that it is gaining headway and must be counted among the mechanisms of modern democracy. It is the relation of this method to such older devices as the initiative, referendum, recall, advisory council

* James Bryce, *American Commonwealth* (New York, 1920 edition), Vol II, p. 262, says: "A fourth stage in the evolution of public opinion would be reached, if the will of the majority of the citizens were to become ascertainable at all times, and without the need of its passing through a body of representatives, possibly even without the need of voting machinery at all." On the next page he says: "But what I desire to point out is that even where the machinery for weighing or measuring the popular will from week to week or month to month has not been, and is not likely to be, invented, there may nevertheless be a disposition on the part of the rulers, whether ministers or legislators, to act as if it existed; that is to say, to look for manifestations of current popular opinion, and to shape their course in accordance with their reading of those manifestations."

and legislative hearing that will be discussed in this paper.

Initiative and Referendum

The public opinion poll based upon a small sample has certain obvious advantages over the initiative and referendum. As found in the United States at the present time, the direct lawmaking devices are expensive, cumbersome, and highly limited in their application. There is no machinery for a national referendum or initiative and less than a dozen states make extensive use of proposition voting. A recent survey showed that three-quarters of all measures voted upon in the states were constitutional amendments.¹ These measures attract so little attention that nearly one-half the voters who go to the polls fail to vote upon them. The agitation for the spread of the initiative and referendum has practically died down. The plain fact is that in most parts of the United States comparatively little use is made of direct legislation. As a rule, propositions are voted upon only once a year and in most states only in even numbered years. Many questions cannot come before the voters until after the long and tedious process of circulating a huge petition. The referendum by its nature is dependent upon prior action by some legislative body.

In contrast to all this, the small public opinion surveys are national in scope, relatively inexpensive, and very flexible. The poll takers are free to sample opinion on any subject which they choose at any time that they choose. They have found a sen-

sitive instrument which if properly employed can be used to detect shifts in attitudes toward given questions. They are thus in a position to throw some light on the conditions which are associated with changes in opinion in a democracy. Furthermore, since they are not bound by elaborate election laws, they may report their returns by significant economic and social groupings. It may be essential to officials to know, for example, what the lower income groups, in contrast to the higher income groups, think about a given governmental policy.

Non-Voting Groups

The public opinion survey has another advantage over official proposition voting. It may reach groups which are not now included in the official electorate. It is true that the Gallup organization tries to confine itself to persons who are eligible to vote and it fixes its geographical quotas on the basis of estimated eligible voters but it does not need to do this. There is no reason why a public opinion survey could not be made of minors, aliens, persons deprived of the vote because of lack of legal residence, and other disfranchised groups. The opinion of young people regarding employment problems, the opinion of migratory laborers, and the opinion of Negroes who do not vote in the South could readily be obtained by employing the

¹ H. F. Gosnell and M. J. Schmidt, "Popular Law Making in the United States, 1924-1936," in New York State Constitutional Convention Committee, *Problems Relating to Legislative Organization and Powers* (New York, 1938), pp. 314-35.

standard public opinion survey techniques. These opinions might be of some importance to persons charged with solving problems concerning these groups. Here is a method which could be used to find out something about the thinking of submerged groups. In times of crisis, this information might be of considerable value.

Disadvantages

On the other hand, the initiative and referendum have certain intrinsic advantages over the public opinion polls. The poll takers do not let the persons whom they interview know in advance that they are going to be questioned on certain subjects. A poll may therefore be based upon the snap judgments of a few persons who are willing to express themselves on a subject which has not been fully debated. As one commentator put it, "After watching fifty interviews I could cite a large number of cases in which the answers were based on half-knowledge and intuition."² It is significant that in the *Fortune* polls a large proportion of the persons interviewed are reported as undecided or having no opinion on the subject investigated.

A proposition which is voted upon at an election may be studied in advance. An opportunity is furnished for the presentation of arguments pro-and-con. In some states there are official publicity pamphlets issued by the government. In addition, precautions are taken to insure the secrecy of the ballot and the honesty of the count.³ There is little check on the accuracy of the poll takers who are

surveying a public policy question. If two poll takers survey the same question, their results might be compared but there is no assurance that identical questions will be used. The manager of a poll might be sincere in his efforts to conduct an honest poll, but he might be deceived by his investigators. There is also the bias of the investigator in the selection of questions to be investigated and the form of their presentation. The responsibility which rests upon the poll takers is great indeed.

Poll Reliability

It is almost impossible to make direct comparisons between the public opinion polls and the process of direct legislation since very few of the public opinion polls have been upon a state basis or have concerned questions which have been voted upon at state elections. This means that there are few official checks upon the reliability of the polls on issues. Robinson has discussed in some detail the relationship of the *Literary Digest* polls of 1922, 1930 and 1932 on the prohibition question to the official state referenda on that subject.⁴ He found that *Literary Digest* polls tended to exaggerate the wet sentiment since the mailing lists used were too heavily weighted with men and since the wets were

² James Wechsler, "Polling America," *The Nation*, vol. 150 (January 20, 1940), p. 67.

³ For a discussion of the conduct of proposition voting, see H. F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937), Chapter VI.

⁴ Claude E. Robinson, *Straw Votes* (New York, 1932), Chapter VI.

more likely to respond in such a poll than the dregs. Since the methods used in these surveys have been outmoded, it is not fair to apply his conclusions to the present-day polls. However, there are a few more recent situations in which comparisons can be made.

In 1938 the American Institute of Public Opinion conducted a poll in the state of California on the "Thirty-Dollars-Every-Thursday" old-age pension plan which was voted upon in the November state elections. The release of the Institute dated October 30, 1938 reported that 67 per cent of the persons interviewed who expressed an opinion on the subject were opposed to the measure. The official returns for the state indicated that 59 per cent of the voters voting on the proposition were opposed to it.⁵ This means that the Gallup poll overestimated the adverse vote on this question by 8 per cent. In 1937 the Institute conducted a poll on the Maine Sales Tax Referendum and found that 72 per cent of the Maine voters interviewed were against the measure. The election returns showed that the referendum was defeated by 67 per cent. In this instance the Gallup poll was slightly more accurate than in the other case cited. In either case if the vote had been very close, the poll might have missed the result.

Recall

The public opinion poll may also be compared with the recall. The election of public officials in the United States comes at regular intervals. In the nation as a whole and in

states which do not have the recall there is no way of checking upon the popularity of elected officials during their term of office. Like the popular lawmaking devices, the recall has very limited application and is extremely cumbersome. Perhaps it is also too drastic. It is possible to warn an elected official by a public opinion survey without subjecting him to the trouble and expense of a recall election. The too frequent use of the recall leads to confusion and uncertainty as is shown by the experience of California cities.⁶ The recall is too expensive a device to employ on the national scale. On the other hand, the public opinion polls can indicate the rise and decline of the popularity of a president. At the same time they can throw light upon the issues which are associated with the changes in the personal popularity of the chief executive. Thus, it was clear that President Roosevelt's popularity declined during the struggle over the reorganization of the Supreme Court.

Representative Government

The popular lawmaking devices, the recall and the public opinion polls are all based upon the assumption that the views of the common citizens should be given considerable weight. Even within the realm of democratic theory, this view has

⁵ Secretary of State, *Statement of Vote at General Election Held on November 8, 1938 in the State of California* (Sacramento, 1938).

⁶ F. L. Bird and F. M. Ryan, *The Recall of Public Officers: A Study of the Operation of the Recall in California* (New York, 1930).

been subject to many challenges. Since the rise of representative institutions there have been those who have championed the independence of chosen representatives. Now the public opinion polls are being attacked on the ground that they are making or may make the legislators subservient to popular whims. Even so serious a paper as the *New York Times* said editorially on November 13, 1936: "Ours is a 'representative' democracy, in which it is properly assumed that those who are chosen to be 'representatives' will think for themselves, use their best judgment individually and take the unpopular side of an argument whenever they are sincerely convinced that the unpopular side is in the long run in the best interests of the country." It is probable that this editorial should not be carried to a logical extreme. Unless some attention is paid to the views of the majority, the chosen representatives are likely to become dictators. The democratic form of government requires a nice balance between the individual views of the representatives and the views of their constituents.

Hearings and Inquiries

As compared with certain official devices for sounding public opinion, the poll has distinct disadvantages. The views which are presented at a legislative hearing or before a commission of inquiry are much more likely to be carefully thought through

than are those given to a public opinion surveyor. Special experts and key persons can be called in to testify. The person interviewed by a poll investigator has no sense of responsibility but a witness before a governmental investigating body knows that the public will watch what he says. A public opinion survey does not aim to reach the leaders who are important in the determination of group opinion. A word from such key persons might violently alter the opinion of the groups which they lead. An official investigation which is well conducted reaches such persons. In addition, it is not under the pressure of a newspaper deadline and can follow up any line of questioning which seems to be promising.

Governmental investigating bodies serve very useful functions but it is not likely that they will take the place of the polls. The public resents too many official inquiries. The sampling of a small cross section of the population is not disturbing to the public in general. A straw poll is an excellent corrective to a one-sided presentation by pressure groups. In countries that cling to the democratic theory of government, the public opinion poll is here to stay, alongside such old devices as the initiative, referendum, recall, legislative hearing and commission of inquiry, as a new instrument for ascertaining the will of the people.

THE CONGRESSMEN LOOK AT THE POLLS

By George F. Lewis, Jr.

The author, a student at Princeton University, investigated the attitudes of members of Congress toward the public opinion polls by sending questionnaires to a Congressional sample. In this article he reports some of the results of this study, conducted under the supervision of Prof. Harwood L. Childs, with particular emphasis upon the question of whether the votes of Congressmen are influenced by poll results.

IMPLICIT in much of the discussion of public opinion polls is the question of whether the voting behavior of members of Congress is affected by poll results. Congressmen, for the most part, contend that they are not influenced by the polls. Many observers, however, believe that they are, some viewing this as salutary—a desirable step toward increased democracy; others protesting that legislators are being turned into mere “rubber stamps.”

To throw some light on this issue, the author mailed questionnaires to all U. S. Senators and to two hundred members of the House of Representatives. A total of one hundred and seventeen questionnaires was returned.

Obviously, members of Congress would not be influenced by poll results unless they believed that the polls were fairly reliable indices of public opinion. Consequently, the first question asked was, “Do you think that public opinion polls, such as the frequent *Fortune* Magazine Surveys and the Gallup Polls, correctly portray and measure public opinion?” Eighty-five per cent of the Congressmen answered either “yes” or “in part.”

Senate House Total

Yes	8	7	15 (13%)
In part	20	64	84 (72%)
No	3	13	16 (14%)
Don't know	2	0	2 (1%)

Approaching the problem directly, the Congressmen were then asked, “Do the results of public opinion polls aid you in deciding upon the desires of your constituents?” Only 9 per cent answered “yes,” but an additional 30 per cent answered “in part.”

Senate House Total

Yes	4	6	10 (9%)
In part	11	24	35 (30%)
No	17	54	71 (61%)

Probably these figures can be taken as an admission by 39 per cent of the Congressional sample that they are influenced in some degree by the public opinion polls. Probably, also, the negative answers of the remaining 61 per cent cannot be accepted as necessarily establishing the fact that they are not subject to an influence which they might be reluctant to admit, even if they were aware of it.

Other Men in Public Life

To check on this further, the third question read, “Do you think public opinion polls aid other men in public

life in deciding their policies about or stands on various subjects or issues?" In this case, where answers were impersonalized, a total of 70 per cent answered either "yes" or "in part."

	Senate	House	Total
Yes	9	18	27 (23%)
In part	13	42	55 (47%)
No	6	18	24 (21%)
Don't know	4	6	10 (9%)

In other words, while only 39 per cent indicated that they themselves were aided by the polls in making up their minds, 70 per cent thought that the polls did aid "other men in public life." Putting it another way, of the 61 per cent who denied that the polls assisted them, 44 Congressmen thought that they influenced other men in public life in some degree. Adding to this number the 45 who indicated that they themselves were assisted by the polls, we find that a total of 89 Congressmen (or 76 per cent of the sample) felt that the polls aided either themselves or others. Thus it appears that only 24 per cent of the entire group maintained that neither they nor "other men in public life" are influenced by the polls.

Bandwagon Effect

In view of the dispute as to whether the polls exercise a "bandwagon" effect on voters, the opinions of these members of Congress, as expert politicians, may be of interest. The question was asked, "Do you think public opinion polls are capable, by themselves, of influencing the public's opinion?" On this question, the Congressmen split 50-50.

	Senate	House	Total
Yes	6	31	37 (32%)
In part	12	9	21 (18%)
No	13	44	57 (50%)

Thus 50 per cent thought the polls might have a "bandwagon" influence; 50 per cent that they do not. One Congressman became rather heated on the matter:

"I believe public opinion is swayed by the polls, the results of which I personally completely reject. This country should not be run like a beauty contest by mail, and in a representative republic, such as ours, we stand in place of the people. If these polls were to control, there would be no need for hearings and arguments and debate; we could all vote 'yah'."

Another question asked the Congressmen was, "Do you think that public opinion polls will, in the future, become more accepted gauges of public opinion and, consequently, much more powerful influences?" To this, 15 (13%) answered "yes," 51 (44%) answered "perhaps," 47 (41%) "no," and 3 (2%) gave no answer.

Regulation

They were then asked, "If public opinion polls do become more powerful influences, do you think more control of polling agencies through the medium of the courts or legislation would be advisable?" Only 33 per cent of the group answered "yes."

	Senate	House	Total
Yes	7	31	38 (33%)
No	21	44	65 (56%)
No ans.	4	9	13 (11%)

As might be expected, further examination of the questionnaires

showed that the great majority of those favoring regulation were under the impression that the polls influence public opinion and are likely to influence it more in the future.

The comment of one of those favoring control was as follows: "These polls, if they are to survive must, like Caesar's wife, be above suspicion of bias. And I, for one, believe such a state of impartial purity is impossible to any private group of humans. To my mind the usefulness of these polls ceases when they begin tapping opinion on questions—economic and social—which are not subject to the official audit of referendum. And even in the matter of checking votes in advance they can be too easily used as a weapon against democracy. I believe they don't belong in the public picture."

Against this may be set the comment of one Congressman opposing regulation of the polls. He thought it would only draw us closer to "complete centralization" in Wash-

ington, and closed by saying: "Do you mean: Let 'Harry Hopkins,' 'Frankfurter,' and 'Tommy the Cork' tell America how fast she can 'Gallup'?"

Turning again to the broader aspects of this study, it would appear from their testimony that a substantial proportion of members of Congress are influenced by the polls or think that other men in public life are influenced. The exact percentage of Congressmen influenced and the degree of that influence are difficult, if not impossible, to determine—particularly in view of the possible reluctance of legislators to admit such influence and their inability to analyze clearly the motivations behind their official acts and the actions of others. Whether or not the influence of poll results upon the voting behavior of members of Congress—whatever its extent and degree—will be welcomed or decried will, of course, depend upon one's theory of government.

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION AND TEN SHEKELS OF SILVER

By Col. O. R. McGuire¹

This article presents the thesis that the public opinion polls are inimical to our representative form of government and tend toward an undesirable system of pure democracy. Sometime Special Assistant to U.S. Attorneys General and Counsel to the Comptroller General, Col. McGuire is now a practising lawyer in Washington, D.C., and chairman of the Committees on Administrative Law of both the American Bar Association and the Virginia State Bar Association. He collaborated with the late James M. Beck in the preparation of *Our Wonderland of Bureaucracy* and *Vanishing Rights of the States*.

THE motivating force behind public opinion polls is the money such polls will bring, either in the direct sale of releases to newspapers or magazines, or in increased circulation of these publications. Perhaps a goodly number of publications carry poll results upon the theory that their readers are anxious to read them, but it is not open to doubt that the purveyors of the public opinion polls are motivated by the shekels of silver which the publishers will pay for releases concerning the polls—and it matters not that the polls relate to intricate and delicate social, economic and international questions which would tax the wit of the best informed men and women of America.

I have no fault to find with any man in his effort to earn a livelihood. My quarrel with such persons arises when either in their ignorance or greed they attempt to convince the public that they are making "democracy more articulate"; that they are "implementing public opinion so that we may know the will of the people at all times"; that by their efforts the will of pressure groups is defeated. More especially, I object to their spreading the false doctrine

that the elected representatives of the people bear about the same relation to the people as Charlie McCarthy does to Edgar Bergen, his ventriloquist master!

Some of the purveyors of public opinion polls argue that our federal and state governments are "democracies" and that these polls "furnish an important supplement to the actual machinery for making democracy work more effectively than it has ever worked before." In other words, as Professor Spahr of New York University has sarcastically remarked, the polls are a device for reaching important governmental decisions by the process of counting noses, on the theory that what the temporary majority says is correct and should implement our laws and policies!

If we may assume that these men (and they are mostly political scientists, economists, or psychologists

¹ For a more extended discussion of the subject by the same author, see his address of August 4, 1939, before the Virginia Bar Association in the 1939 Annual Proceedings of that Association; in the November-December 1939 number of the *United States Law Review*, pp. 499-512; and in *Vital Speeches*, September 1939.

without any background of training in the legal history of institutions of government) are sincere in their belief and that they are not subtly influenced by the pecuniary returns from the sale of the results of their efforts to newspapers and magazines, then they would do well to delve into the history of governments and realize that temporary majorities have not infrequently pulled the temple of government down upon all.

Aside from a few New England town governments, the very small Swiss cantons, each with homogeneous populations, and to a modified extent in ancient Athens, the world has never known a "pure democracy." By this we mean a system of government wherein the people meet and make the laws themselves, and either administer the laws they have made or appoint or elect individuals subject to continued public control to administer these laws. It is a matter of historic record that so arbitrary and capricious were the Greeks of ancient Athens that they banished Aristides, for instance, simply because he was known as the Just. The minority of the Greeks and the slaves as well as foreigners had no rights whatever which the majority had to respect.

Also, it is an historic fact that the New England town governments have not functioned in satisfactory manner under the pressure of increasing population, increasing police, public health, and construction problems, and the increasing struggle for existence which leaves so little time for the residents of these towns actively to participate in town meetings to make and enforce the necessary municipal laws. If any

proof of this statement is needed it is demonstrated by the fact that this town meeting form of government has almost disappeared. What is more, even representative municipal governments are so little the concern of citizens that these governments have been largely taken over by bosses and others who exact a tribute in the form of graft for the time they devote to giving the people a more or less fair government.

U.S. Government Not "Democratic"

The United States government is not now, and was never intended to be, a democratic form of government in the sense that the people should make the laws from day to day or that they should control anything more than the very general policies which should be followed in law-making. And, further, even in control of general policies it was not intended to be, and is not now the established practice for the people to pass judgment except after a campaign of the representatives of the people for renomination and election—a campaign which is by no means an ex-parte affair wherein some interviewer of a polling organization approaches a citizen engrossed in his personal affairs and requests him to vote a straw ballot!

On the contrary, these campaigns for nomination and election of candidates for public office are bitterly fought affairs, even in the states and localities where nomination by one party is equivalent to election. The past record of the office holder for renomination and reelection is subject to attack by his opponent or opponents in intensive personal speak-

ing tours, in the press, and over the radio, and so are the policies which he advocates. Not always, but generally, these contests are between able men who neither give nor ask quarter. In the process the voters have an opportunity for education in general policies before they are required to cast their ballots in favor of one candidate or another and in favor of one general policy or others. While it is no doubt true that personalities become involved in these political campaigns and that the issues become somewhat colored by such personalities, nevertheless, in a measure at least, the highest tradition of a republican form of government, that the people be instructed and informed before assuming responsibility for casting their ballots, is satisfied.

Our Representative Government

Under our representative form of government the people do not make the statutory law. Such laws are made by the elected representatives of the people in Congress and they are enforced by the President, the only elected representative in a group of more than one million administrators or administrative employees in the executive branch of the government. Even after going through the intense sifting process to which I have referred and being required to go through that process from time to time thereafter, our legislators do not attempt to pass upon intricate problems in the fashion of a straw ballot voter. Bills are introduced in Congress or state legislative assemblies; these bills are printed and distributed to each

member; they are referred to committees; the committees conduct public hearings; the members of the committees study all phases of the proposed legislation; if the bill is reported out of the committee, it is accompanied by written reports summarizing the arguments for and against its passage; and it is subject to exhaustive debate before it becomes law. In the meanwhile the newspapers and magazines discuss the proposed legislation and diverse pressures are brought to bear both for and against the bill.

The Public Is Unqualified

The people generally are simply not equipped either by training or experience to make such studies of legislation: that is, of intricate questions of taxation, finance, foreign policy, work relief, armament, and the thousand and one other subjects which claim the close attention of their elected representatives. What is more, the men and women of this country who must labor to keep the wolf from the door, educate and rear their children, and provide some sort of competence for old age simply do not have the time or the energy to make any such study of governmental problems as to qualify them to determine what is best for the country and for themselves. In effect, they have employed their Senators and Congressmen for short periods of time, at the conclusion of which the employment must be renewed, to make these studies. In this respect there is no substantial difference between such employment of Senators and Representatives and the employment of physicians or lawyers. Peo-

ple do not employ a physician or lawyer and then attempt to tell him how to treat an illness, perform an operation, draw up legal papers, or try a case in court, as the case may be. The people judge a physician or lawyer by the results obtained and they do likewise with their elected representatives.

Not only is the attempt to poll the public on every conceivable question—from government finance to intervention in European wars and sterilization of criminals and mentally defectives—utterly absurd when viewed from the standpoint of the origin and purposes of our Constitution, as well as the history of legal institutions, but such public opinion polls are positively harmful to the continuation of our present system of government with its checks and balances for the protection of the rights, liberty, and property of all the people, including minority groups.

Representative Government in Danger

The danger to our republican form of government from these public opinion polls is at least two-fold: first, only courageous and resolute representatives will vote their convictions against what straw ballots indicate may be the prevailing public opinion on controversial issues; second, these public opinion polls plant

in the minds of the people an erroneous idea as to the part the voting public plays in our system of representative government.

Public opinion polls are undermining our republican form of government to substitute a direct or "pure" democracy, which has never succeeded in the history of the world in a community of any considerable size, even remotely approaching the area and population of the United States. They under-cut and discourage the influence of able and conscientious public men and tend to elevate demagogues to power who will go to the greatest extremes in taking from those who have and giving to those who have not.

Even the majority of voters must be subject to governmental restraints so that the members of both the majority and the minority may enjoy the freedom and liberties of our system of government. In making this statement I am far from conceding that the straw ballots for or against any particular question actually represent a majority view, or what would be a majority view if the question could be debated pro-and-con before the people on the broad issues involved.

"Let us not remove the landmarks our Fathers have set" and sell our birthright for a few shekels of silver. Above all, let us not be the purchasers!

OPINION POLLS AS THE VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

By Paul T. Cherington

The author believes that the polls constitute an important democratic instrumentality which gives voice to a public opinion that is basically sound. Formerly professor of marketing at the Harvard School of Business Administration, the Stanford School of Business, and New York University, and director of research for J. Walter Thompson, Mr. Cherington, as a marketing expert, now is a partner in McKinsey & Co., management consultants.

DEMOCRACY, on a small scale, is able to express itself swiftly and with certainty. The Swiss elections, the New England town meetings (in at least the smaller towns) and similar instances could be cited if evidence were needed. But for nearly 100 years beginning about 1835, with the growth of our cities, states and the country as a whole, the people have become less and less able to say what they thought concerning many vital matters. The result was that many of them either became indifferent to public affairs or lost faith in democracy, or were in a frame of mind to be impressed by some form of totalitarianism.

Within the past five years a significant change has come about. The principles of statistical sampling, already worked out in other fields such as the sampling of raw materials, or in biological research, have been applied to this job of giving voice to public opinion. This new application of accepted mathematical techniques, combined with such opinion-shaping devices as radio, news-week motion pictures, weekly magazines of a more vivid sort, has made a more alert thing of public opinion. And this new use of an established statistical technique has given it a chance to speak.

Instead of public opinion being any longer the ponderous slithering around of an unjelled protoplasm, public opinion has become organic. If it has not yet acquired two hind legs and a voice with which it can stand up and bark, it at least has ideas and doesn't mind speaking them out.

Soundness of Opinion

One of the most significant points which has been developed out of these new methods of sampling public opinion is a new proof of the basic soundness of that opinion when it is not stampeded. For years we have been told by motion picture magnates, radio-vaudeville program devisers, certain sardonic advertising men, and even some newspaper men that the army intelligence test results of a 12 year average mental age were about right. This meant that to get volume, one must be low-brow, and to be low-brow one must be a shade on the imbecile side. This plausible fallacy has led astray men who should have had better judgment: labor leaders, advertisers, storekeepers, and even politicians. The old belief in the high significance of the *Vox Populi* had been shaken.

Where these people most often have been misled is in confusing

mediocrity with stupidity. Most people may be mediocre; but it does not follow that they are dumb. People may not be creative, inventive or brilliant, and yet they may still have sound horse-sense which will save them from many follies.

Here, for example, are a few things which these samplings of public opinion have brought out as current public opinions which do not reflect either lack of brains or undue gullibility on the part of the average of common people:

They do not like sit-down strikes as a weapon in wage disputes.

They do not think that violence is the road to social reform.

They think the President made a mistake in the Court matter and another in his desire to centralize the Federal Government in Executive hands, even though they approve of many of his ideas.

They do not think that a man who runs a business enterprise, even though it may be a big one, is necessarily an enemy to society.

They do not think that mankind as a whole is split into two warring camps of exploiters and exploited, or "haves" and "have nots" or bourgeoisie and proletariat. They think that "we the people" are divided, if at all, into the good and the bad, and some of both are rich and some poor.

In fact, if you take the list of current public questions, from the Wagner Act to sex-promiscuity and work out what seems to be the most reasonable and sensible answer you can devise, you will not miss very far the answer which this newly vocal pub-

lic will give you if they are left to express themselves without fear or coercion.

Any compilation of the results of a properly conducted survey of public opinion during the past five years on almost any vital subject confirms this rather sweeping statement.

The diplomats and "leaders" ought to know, for example, how thoroughly discredited war is in the minds of these people as a means for settling anything since it went in so heavily for woman murder and baby butchering. It no longer makes sense to ordinary people.

This is the sort of mental quality which is assumed in a democracy on a small scale, and which for the past 100 years has had increasing difficulty in finding adequate expression in large masses. If by proper sampling it appears that this same quality is to be able to express itself in larger groups, this is a deeply significant fact which gives new meaning to a whole list of such common terms as "free speech," "democracy," "social reform," "labor movements," "consumer demand," and even "public opinion" itself.

Representative Cross-Section

If democracy is "government by the people," and if it depends for its very life on free expression of unstamped common sense, then by this newly applied technique giving it a voice, we see the importance of the true and representative cross-section. No matter who we are, whether proletariat, intellectual, capitalist, high-brow, or low-brow, a dangerous and common fallacy is for us to assume

that the "people" include only, or chiefly, "our kind of folks." The prime requisite of an effective democracy is that it must get at some satisfactory balance between all kinds of people.

The most important point is that within recent years a new, sensible, sane voice is raised between elections which is uncanny in its illustration of the obvious platitude that "Everybody is wiser than anybody." It may not know what it is talking about, but what it says is good sense.

And so, whether we are dealing with the balance of governmental

power, or the Supreme Court, or the electric power business, it apparently is true that if those with ulterior motives and forensic skill can be kept from neutralizing the average public intelligence, blunders will be fewer; and if this average of public intelligence can be kept free to express itself, the plans of the evil or the emotional, or the short-sighted will sooner or later be called to halt by the penetrating wisdom of *Vox Populi*, speaking through "chi-squares," "medians" and "cumulative means," "standard deviations," and other strange statistical gadgets.

A NEWSPAPER PUBLISHER LOOKS AT THE POLLS

By Eugene Meyer

The publisher of the *Washington Post*, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of public opinion polls in the newspaper field, tells why the *Post* has published the American Institute of Public Opinion polls since the first Gallup release.

MANY years ago, in my work as an investment banker in placing mining issues, as well as industrial issues, I necessarily had to study engineers' reports. In mining finance, scientific sampling of ore bodies was the basis on which sound bond issues could be safely placed, assuming that processes for treatment and other factors were sound.

Sampling adequate cross-sections of mineral deposits of extensive and homogeneous character proved by experience to be reliable as an accurate method of measuring underground formations and mineral content covering large areas. In metallurgy small samples from carloads dumped at the

mill proved reliable for assaying material passing through the mill in great quantities.

Later, in public service I frequently was told by politicians in and out of office what the public thought about men and measures. My experience in the latter field taught me that their opinions were frequently inaccurate and irresponsible. They depended on such indices as mail, opinions of visitors, newspaper comment, and opinions of local groups and political supporters. Mail always had a tremendous effect on Congressmen, even though they knew it was often influenced. Essentially the Congressmen responded to *pressure* and

mistook it for *opinion*. Sometimes a Congressman who felt that his mail was being weighted by special interests would take a flying trip home. He'd talk to people whose political judgment he respected. But they actually were unable to ascertain public opinion any better than he. I grew strong in the belief that most politicians had no adequate way of measuring public opinion. I may also say that newspaper appraisals of public opinion likewise proved equally inaccurate in many cases.

A New Technique

So when Dr. Gallup came along with his ideas of measuring public opinion by a sampling technique, it seemed an approach, at least, to a really scientific method. I was confident that there was a field of useful opportunity for checking editors, pressure group representatives, and politicians in their unsupported statements with respect to public opinion.

The *Washington Post* was one of the first to publish the results of Dr. Gallup's work, beginning with the first release, and deems itself fortunate in having this interesting information to present to its readers.

I expected the public of Washington to be interested in these polls—and as publisher of the *Washington Post* my primary interest is in what Washingtonians will read—because the business of Washington is government and that business is, in a major way, affected by public opinion, or by what is thought to be public opinion. That this expectation of interest has been confirmed is shown by the letters we receive, by the way in which the Gallup polls are quoted

and referred to in private conversations and in the *Congressional Record*, and by the response the circulation department gets to the feature. As I look back upon the progress of Dr. Gallup's reports as published, I may say that the accuracy and the quality of his work have met my highest expectations.

Debunking Pressure Groups

One notable instance I recall is the assumption of the politicians that the Townsend Plan some years ago was sweeping the country. Politicians were in a panic until the Gallup poll showed that only a negligible percentage of the population favored the Townsend Plan. The panic subsided, and perhaps the country was saved from compromising with an impracticable idea.

This Townsend incident reveals the value of properly conducted polls as a protection against pressure groups, in three ways: (1) exaggerated claims of popular support are revealed; (2) the pressure itself is lessened as the pressure group sees that Congress knows the facts; and (3) the Congressman's spine is stiffened and his position is more assured.

I have felt from the beginning that the publication of Dr. Gallup's reporting of essential facts of public opinion (within a small margin of error) has been a most useful and constructive contribution to the successful operation of the democratic system.

Voting on Issues

One of the weaknesses of our system has been the necessity of vot-

ing for a man rather than an issue. With several issues to be considered, the voter must weigh and balance, and the vote finally cast for a candidate may prove nothing at all as to the public attitude toward any specific issue. The Smith-Hoover campaign is an instance. Most practical politicians believe the religious issue, rather than that of Prohibition, defeated Smith. Yet dry forces used the election to "prove" the country's aversion to repeal. A Gallup poll at that time would have separated the issues and clarified the problem of repeal for the Hoover Administration.

Many who were skeptics in the beginning have become converted. Most of the opposition to his publication of the facts of public opinion has come from people who did not like the results of the polls. No successful attack has been made thus far upon his methods or the value of publishing, truthfully, the results as he finds them.

The fact that about 110 papers of both political parties now publish the Gallup poll, regardless of what facts the poll reports, is in itself a measure of the desire of the American press to publish the truth concerning American public opinion, whether or not it conforms to the editorial slant of the publishing newspaper.

In a promotion pamphlet issued not long ago by the *Washington Post* it was pointed out that "It takes all four to bring the complete story": news coverage, pictures, editorial analysis, and American reactions as shown in the Gallup polls. In other words, the polls have changed journalism, just as the organization of press associations did, just as the advent of half-tone photo-engravings did, just as the rise of the columnists and commentators did.

The reporting of opinion as well as of events has become a part of modern journalism.

CLIMBING ON THE BANDWAGON

By Walter M. Pierce

As a U.S. Representative from Oregon, the author has introduced several bills to curb and to investigate public opinion polls, one of which is now pending before Congress. He is especially concerned about what he believes to be the "bandwagon" influence of the polls.

NATION-WIDE polls are a matter of national concern. Such polls have become a strong influence in connection with legislation and with candidacies. They are recognized as a potent, if not the most powerful, agency now used to influence public opinion. They have been copied locally by newspapers and propaganda groups. Certain polls are widely quoted in legislative bodies where their validity and correctness of interpretation are assumed. It now appears the duty of legislative bodies to appraise and understand the methods used in polling public opinion, to measure the actual and potential results, and to consider the possible dangers of an uncontrolled, private manipulation of public opinion, for financial profit.

It is claimed that the polls represent a cross section of the voters and that the results are subjected to scientific handling, so that deductions are a trustworthy guide to public opinion. I have been led to believe that public opinion is, very naturally, influenced by these polls, and that they create opinion rather than measure it. The fairness of the polls may be open to question, regardless of the integrity and ability of the pollsters. The selection of the questions, the way in which they are formulated, and the approach to the individual

may be used to create a certain reaction in the person polled. I am convinced that voters like to climb onto the bandwagon and that polls greatly increase the bandwagon vote.

I am aware that this may not seem to reflect most creditably upon the intelligence of those who are, in mass, the bulwark of our democracy, but we can improve conditions only by first facing the facts. I know there are sturdy characters among us, men and women who form their own opinions and fight for them to the last ditch, voting regardless of results. I fear their total number is a small percentage, not sufficient to change the result in a closely contested election.

Legislative Proposals

Since I have been a Member of the Congress, I have had several bills pending on the subject of straw ballots. In the days of the *Literary Digest*, I was anxious to prevent any possible collusion between polltakers and those interested in the results; so my early legislation was aimed at forbidding the use of the mails to those taking straw ballots. My recent effort has been a Joint Resolution creating a committee of five Senators and five Representatives "to investigate the conducting of polls purporting to measure

public opinion with respect to questions or issues which have or may have a bearing upon any election held to fill any office under the Government of the United States, with special reference to the manner of framing questions contained in ballots or inquiries, the methods of selecting persons to whom ballots or inquiries are sent, and the reasons for conducting such polls."

The Rules Committee recently granted me a hearing upon this resolution, but, to date, the appointment of a committee has not been authorized. I am aware that congressional investigations become obnoxious when overdone, and that members of Congress very easily tire of them and are loath to provide organization and funds for another investigation which may drag on endlessly. It has been my understanding that some of the polling organizations would very much welcome an opportunity to tell a congressional committee about their business and their methods. I believe the public would be better satisfied if this could be done.

Voting for the Winner

I recall an incident occurring in the election of 1916 which well illustrates the influence of the bandwagon, vote-for-the-winner theory. It happened in Portland, Oregon, where nearly forty per cent of the voting strength of the State lies, in the Presidential election when the candidates were Hughes and Wilson. Voting had been light during the morning of election day. At two o'clock the *Oregon Journal*, a paper which had waged an apparently suc-

cessful campaign for Wilson, came out with a banner headline, "HUGHES ELECTED." A subheading ran something like this: "Hughes carries Atlantic border." The time was then five o'clock in New York City from whence the news had come. Immediately, Wilson supporters who had not yet voted in Portland, thought, "Well, what's the use? Hughes is surely elected." Thousands did not vote at all; others switched their vote to Hughes, who carried the state by a margin of about six-thousand votes. Thus the *Portland Journal*, having waged a strong campaign for Wilson, inadvertently defeated him in the closing hours of the campaign by a headline transmitting news from New York City.

The *Literary Digest* poll in 1924 undoubtedly gave Coolidge a million votes he would not have received had it not been for an opinion-molding poll, one which created a belief in the minds of many voters that Coolidge was a sure winner. In 1928, the effect was not quite as marked, but the *Literary Digest* poll unquestionably added to Hoover's majority. In 1936, the *Literary Digest* sang its swan song, and was so inaccurate that it committed suicide. Unquestionably, many of the polls taken today are just as inaccurate in measuring public opinion. Some one may raise the question, "If polls are so influential in the matter of public opinion, why then, did not the *Literary Digest* poll of 1936 defeat Roosevelt?" Eighty per cent of the press had filled their columns for weeks with reasons why Roosevelt should not, and would not, be re-elected. Radio voices had predicted

his defeat. Why, then, did he win? The answer is that Roosevelt, in 1936, was just unbeatable, and that he was elected by the grateful masses, who are seldom polled.

"You Can't Beat Him"

I have found, from actual experience reaching over a half-century of public life, that the strongest argument I can make and that my friends can make for me, is that I am sure to win. "You can't beat him." That makes more votes, brings more sentiment and support on election day than any other argument which can be put forth. It has been said, and I think truly, that one-fifth of all the voters try to pick a winner. It is said that another one-fifth pick their man on name-familiarity. Think of the last time you stood in a voting booth, pencil in hand, scanning a long list of names. Did your pencil just automatically make a cross opposite the name of the candidate you thought would win or the name with which you were most familiar?

I have seen public opinion in small towns changed at the last minute by

polls taken in cigar stores, pool rooms and barber shops. If a candidate is unscrupulously inclined, and has plenty of money, he can have friends take polls of picked sections and groups of people, then have his own organization manipulate the results and draw the desired conclusions from them. By giving the whole proceeding an air of respectability, authenticity, and fair dealing, he can influence the results of an entire election. The candidate whose name is omitted from the poll finds himself in a very dangerous position. Such treatment is tantamount to a wide-spread belief that his candidacy is negligible.

Americans have come to feel that they must protect the sacredness of the ballot. This is one of our traditions, and we have enacted into law the necessary means of protection. We must also take steps to overcome the effects of powerful, subsidized propaganda which is now a controlling factor in election of candidates and in enactment of legislation on measures of momentous public concern.

IS THERE A BANDWAGON VOTE?

By George Gallup and Saul Forbes Rae

Analyzing poll data collected by the American Institute of Public Opinion, the authors deny that the polls exert a "bandwagon" influence on the opinions of the voting electorate. Mr. Gallup, of course, is Director of the Institute. Mr. Rae is associated with him, after work in the public opinion field in England, especially at Oxford University.

SOME politicians have spent so much effort in trying to swing doubtful voters to their side by prophesying ultimate victory that they have convinced themselves of the effectiveness under all conditions of appealing to the "bandwagon" psychology of the average voter. This is the background of the indictment that pre-election polls tend to handicap the "losing" side by influencing doubtful voters to vote for the "winning" candidate. The argument is usually focused on pre-election polls, but occasionally has been extended to include polls on issues as well.

Before attempting to test this theory against the facts, we must be sure that the politician and the opinion surveyor are talking about the same phenomenon. The politician's direct experience of the "bandwagon" movement springs from his observation of the "habits, outcries, and protective coloring" of fellow politicians, party workers, and other zealous citizens active in the "inner circle," whether in the public spotlight of party conventions, or the privacy of the "smoke-filled rooms." He has seen the "fence-sitters" withhold their support until they feel sure that they can "back a winner" and then, reasoning dangerously by analogy, he frequently argues that

the average voter adopts the same political tactics. But observation of the behavior of a special group—the politicians and their satellites—cannot be substituted for observation of the behavior of the average voter.

Two main points underline this conclusion: (1) In the case of these special political groups, concrete incentives in terms of place and power, jobs and favors, operate to make their members desire to be "in" rather than "out." The average voter, on the other hand, is too remote from the center of privilege to have this tangible stake in following the apparent majority; and (2) The decisions of the politician are usually made in the open forum of conventions or party meetings, while the average voter casts his ballot in secret, and stands in no danger of displeasure for having opposed the majority line. Clearly then, we must distinguish between the urge of a politician to join the bandwagon rush to support a winning candidate, and the behavior of the average voter. It is with regard to this last question only—whether or not the polls induce a bandwagon tendency among the electorate—that the opinion surveyor can present concrete evidence.

Obviously the public opinion polls have no monopoly in the field of pre-election forecasting. Predictions by newspaper commentators, party leaders, and candidates for election have been an accepted part of every political campaign in this country for generations. The voting public gets news of the probable success or failure of their political choices every day an election campaign is in progress. The polls merely substitute factual reporting for guesswork and impression.

The Record

Beyond that, however, a careful examination of the record reveals little evidence for the bandwagon theory. If the argument sometimes advanced is correct that one voter in five eagerly watches the poll returns to see which candidate is leading, and then decides to vote for the "winning" side, it would usually be true that between the first pre-election poll forecasts and the actual vote on election day, a substantial rise in the popularity of the winning candidate could logically be expected. Actually, however, scores of past election check-ups show that in most cases there is no such rise—the curve of sentiment indicating support for the leading candidate is usually flat, and in fact, generally goes down toward the end of a campaign. In most cases, the shift is in the opposite direction to that required by the bandwagon theory.

In 1936, for example, the *Literary Digest* conducted its poll on presidential candidates. But even with the backing of three successful predictions in previous presidential cam-

paigns, with its returns widely publicized in the press of the entire country, and over a nation-wide radio network, the fact remains that the *Digest's* indication of a sweeping Landon victory did not apparently result in attracting voters to Landon.

The American Institute of Public Opinion conducted a series of sampling surveys in primary elections in five states during 1938. In four of these (Kentucky, Georgia, South Carolina and Maine) there was no trace of an increasing vote for the leading candidate in successive surveys. In the fifth (Maryland), the shift was so slight as to be insignificant.

Kentucky

In Kentucky, surveys were conducted over a period of four months among Kentucky voters on the Barkley-Chandler campaign for the Democratic senatorial nomination. The following table shows the trend of sentiment towards the two candidates, as revealed by successive samplings:

Polls:	Barkley	Chandler
April 10	67%	33%
May 15	65	35
July 8	64	36
July 24	61	39
August 5	59	41
Election:		
August 6	57	43

The Institute's findings were published in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the leading paper in Kentucky, and were given wide publicity throughout the state. According to the bandwagon theory, Senator Bark-

ley should have continued to gain strength from the time of the first survey when he had the support of about two-thirds of the Democratic voters. Instead, however, as time went on and Governor Chandler carried his aggressive campaign to the rural voters among Kentucky's unmapped backroads, Senator Barkley's share of the popular vote declined.

Georgia

In the following month, the Institute conducted a survey in the Georgia Democratic senatorial primary. The first sample findings showed Senator George, candidate for re-nomination, leading the field with 52 per cent of the popular vote. The poll was widely publicized in the *Atlanta Constitution*, and successive reports indicating the standing of rival candidates reached a considerable section of the voting public. Senator George referred to the Institute's early returns in campaign literature and in public speeches.

The following table shows the trend of sentiment during the campaign as revealed by the Institute's published surveys:¹

		Camp	George	Mc- Rae	Tal- madge
Polls:					
Sept. 4	28%	52%	1%	20%	
Sept. 9	24	52	1	24	
Sept. 13	25	46	1	28	
Election:					
Sept. 14	24	44	—	32	

According to the bandwagon theory, the strength of Senator George should have increased after Septem-

ber fourth at the expense of Camp and Talmadge. But just the reverse happened, and this in spite of the widespread publicity which the Institute's results received.

In the Maine Republican gubernatorial primary, there was not a rise but a drop of three points in the vote for the leading candidate, Barrows, between the last survey date and the election. In the Democratic senatorial primaries held in South Carolina, there was a drop of two points in the vote for the leading candidate. In Maryland, the proportion of the vote received by the winning candidate remained constant throughout the campaign.

Louisiana

In January 1940, the Democratic party in Louisiana held a primary election for the governorship. The results of an Institute canvass in December showed Earl Long and Sam Jones tied with 34 per cent of the total vote, followed by Noe with 20 per cent, Morrison with 10 per cent, and Mosely with 2 per cent. Although no prediction of the final result was made, the preliminary findings indicated that, in all probability, Long would fail to secure the majority over all other candidates necessary to avoid a run-off election against the second candidate, Jones. A pre-election editorial in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* argued that the publicity given to the poll results in

¹ The Democratic senatorial nomination is based on a county-unit vote basis, but whenever a candidate has a large margin in popular vote, he usually also wins the convention vote. This was the case in the 1938 Georgia election.

the campaign would stimulate a new type of bandwagon influence. It suggested that the supporters of Noe, Morrison, and Mosely, united in a common desire to oust Long from the governorship, would desert their own candidate for Jones, whose chances of defeating the Long machine appeared to be best. The facts, however, revealed no shift of this type, for the voters for minority candidates continued to support their original choices:

	Poll (Dec. '39)	Election (Jan. '40)
Long	34%	41%
Jones	34	28
Noe	20	21
Morrison	10	9
Mosely	2	1

Presidential Preferences

If the bandwagon psychology prevailed among the mass of voters, one might expect it to be especially apparent in the months before a national nominating convention. Yet when interviewers have sought to explore public attitudes towards various possible Democratic candidates, on the assumption that President Roosevelt would not be a third term candidate, the reported standings have shown shifts which cannot be explained in the light of a bandwagon theory. James Farley was the leading candidate in the early stages just after the 1936 election, but later was passed by Vice-President Garner. On the other hand, in spite of his lead, Garner has not gained continuously in successive surveys, nor can the relative increases in the degree of support for Cordell Hull and

Paul McNutt be ascribed to the operation of a bandwagon movement. The Republican picture is much like the Democratic. Senator Vandenberg was the early leader in the polls, but he has now been outdistanced by Mr. Dewey, while Senator Taft, who was not in the first six in the early running, has now about as much popular support as has Senator Vandenberg.

As well as questioning the public on its choices for 1940, the Institute asked voters in July, 1939, the following supplemental questions:

Do you happen to know which Democratic candidate is leading today in the polls on Presidential candidates?

Do you happen to know which Republican candidate is leading in these polls today?

By obtaining answers to these questions, the Institute was able to separate into two groups the Republicans, for example, who said they followed the polls on candidates and those who said they did not. The members of each group had previously been asked which candidate they preferred for 1940. Those who were reading the polls favored Dewey, Vandenberg, and Taft, in that order—which corresponded with the estimate of opinion polls at that time. But Republican voters *who had no opportunity to see the surveys* and did not know what they were showing voted *in exactly the same way*—for Dewey, Vandenberg, and Taft—and the percentage vote for each candidate was virtually the same as among those who knew the poll results.

Thus, previous studies of the trends of opinion during past elections, and investigations of the relationship between the voter's actual behavior and his expectation of being on the winning side, fail to reveal any real evidence for the belief that polls create a bandwagon vote among the mass of voters. Undoubtedly, politicians and various partisan groups *act as though* such a theory had a real basis in fact. But although the manipulators of public opinion picture their own side as sweeping on to victory, there are occasions when the actions of politicians are based on political mythology rather than on political science.

Issues

The view that the bandwagon vote operates on issues has even less validity. Mr. Edward G. Benson of the American Institute has carefully investigated past trends on issues to obtain proof or disproof of the view that people invariably follow the views of the majority. Over forty-five questions on which at least two sets of spaced measurements had been published were listed under three headings: (1) questions where the trend of majority sentiment was upward in accordance with the bandwagon theory; (2) questions where the trend of majority sentiment was downward contrary to the theory; and (3) questions where the trend was either nonexistent or inconclusive. In two out of every three issues studied the trend was downward, and the vote for the "popular" side declined. All cases which showed an upward trend were then carefully

examined. To select a single illustration—when the question was asked: "Do you think the United States should increase the size of its Army? Navy? Air-Force?"—the results were:

	Army % Yes	Navy % Yes	Air- Force % Yes
Jan. '38	69	74	80
Dec. '38	82	86	90
Nov. '39	86	88	91

The upswing in all three cases was obviously not due to "mob-mindedness," but rather to the evident fact of increasing tensions on the international front culminating in the outbreak of war in Europe. The Institute's experience, both in elections and on issues, would seem to point directly to the fact that events and actions are infinitely more potent factors in influencing the formation of opinion than a mere desire to imitate one's fellow citizens.

The Difficulties

There are two main difficulties in the way of obtaining a comprehensive and tested answer to the question of a bandwagon movement: (1) supporters of the bandwagon theory have generally failed to go straight to the facts for substantiation, and the few experimental studies conducted to date have dealt chiefly with the questionnaire-responses of college students in non-realistic situations, and frequently on non-realistic issues; and (2) the determinants of shifts in public opinion are so complex and inter-dependent that the

study of the effect of isolated factors—such as knowledge of majority opinion—is still in its infancy.

Perhaps future research will produce more evidence through the careful use of some type of panel technique for studying the effect of poll estimates on voting behavior. Case-studies of the “doubtful” and “undecided” voters throughout an elec-

tion campaign will also throw more light on the problem. But as the facts stand at present, there is one conclusion that seems tenable—that it is not what the polls publish as majority opinion, but rather the impact of events and the everyday life experiences of the mass of the people which are the determinants of political attitudes and actions.

POLLS AND THE SCIENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

By Floyd H. Allport

After discussing the bandwagon tendency and the function of polls in correcting “pluralistic ignorance,” Syracuse University’s social psychologist examines the nature of public opinion, on the basis of which he then criticizes the polls for ignoring several important dimensions of opinion measurement, and for framing questions in collective phraseology rather than in terms of the individual’s own experience and expectations.

ONE OF the most significant of modern advances toward realism in the study of political and social problems is the rise of polls of public opinion. As with any new and basic method, however, it is expected that in their earlier stages certain crudities will inevitably appear. Since the objective in establishing the polls was one not only of fact finding but also of reporting and publicizing the facts found, the techniques, on the side of content and phraseology, have savored strongly of the journalistic approach. In spite of the wholesome progress toward accuracy in sampling and the use of statistical methods, the content of the questions themselves rests not so much upon scientific precision as upon the *clichés* and stereotypes of thinking which newspaper editors are prone

to regard as the mental equipment of the “man in the street.” Now that clouds of mistrust regarding the polls are arising in some quarters, it is a strategic time to subject the procedure to a more careful methodological scrutiny. This paper is concerned with only a small part of this broader undertaking, namely, a discussion of opinion polling as viewed in the perspective of a scientific description of the public opinion situation, and with the representative character and significance of the questions asked. There is space for only the briefest outline of the problems which emerge.

Bandwagon Tendency

Among the criticisms of the practice of publishing poll results, one of the sharpest is that which is based

upon the well-known "bandwagon" tendency. We tend to behave as we see others behave, or, if we are feeling or acting in a given direction of our own accord, we tend to be swayed *the more strongly* if we see or hear a large number of others acting in the same direction. A published poll result, showing clearly where the majority lies, will therefore be one of the most potent methods of encouraging this tendency, and of piling up, deliberately or unconsciously, large modalities which are based more upon social influence and suggestion than upon rational decision. The writer long ago described these tendencies as basic principles of social psychology under the terms of "attitude of conformity" and "social facilitation."¹ It is interesting that political leaders should have been unconcerned about their existence until brought face to face with them in situations where their effects are bound to tread on certain toes. Having discovered that public opinion is a term to conjure with, especially if one has the data proving that a certain position *is* public opinion, the guardians of our legislative halls are likely to be "touchy" as to whose side the conjuring advantage is on, and to question therefore whether every Tom, Dick or Harry should be allowed to conjure. It might even be better, in their opinion, to investigate, and perhaps to suppress, the entire procedure.

This criticism, however, seems to rest upon the assumption that conjuring of this sort is a new thing. As a matter of fact it is probably as old

as the game of politics. There is scarcely a campaign or lobby which does not draw to its close without the emphatic announcement that "public opinion" is overwhelmingly on the side of the speaker or the lobbyist, and that his victory, or that of his cause, is predicted by a large majority. The only difference is that, whereas the sense of universality was previously only an "impression," capable of being distorted to suit the publicist's convenience, it is now, through the polling procedure, capable of being based upon substantial fact.

Correcting Pluralistic Ignorance

There is good reason indeed to turn our attention from public knowledge of citizens' reactions to the reverse condition, namely public, or (as the writer has elsewhere termed it) "pluralistic" ignorance.²

The lack of awareness, rather than the awareness, of how others think and feel is the true danger sign for democratic processes. In such a situation suggestion and propaganda are of the greatest influence, since it is easy, without any check on facts, to make citizens believe that a certain view is the majority, if not the universal, opinion (impression of universality). Another well established principle of social psychology is one which we may term social projection. Where the attitudinal composition of the field is unknown, individuals tend to "project" into it, usually un-

¹ Cf. F. H. Allport, *Social Psychology*, pp. 261-278; 296-305.

² See Ogburn and Goldenweiser, *The Social Sciences*, pp. 273-274; and Achilles, P. S., *Psychology at Work*, p. 218.

consciously, their own views, prejudices, or desires—in short to think that others are behaving or thinking as *they* are.³

If an individual has been convinced unknowingly (as most of us are) by some appeal, based upon inadequate data, that a certain proposition is true, he will then tend to project the acceptance of this same proposition into others. By this projection the principles of conformity and facilitation are thus secondarily involved to clinch and strengthen the belief. It is here that the real menace to democratic government is to be found. An accurate knowledge of how others actually think and feel is not a peril, but a corrective of this danger of "pluralistic ignorance." This knowledge of the opinions of others must, of course, be accurate, or else this corrective advantage will not be gained; hence the importance of a scientific conduct of polling organizations.

The Nature of Public Opinion

What we have just said points further to the need of clarifying some naïve, but common, assumptions about the nature of the public opinion. It is frequently believed that public opinion is like a great voice, or force; and that as a new common need arises and citizens gradually make up their minds about it, this voice swells and gathers momentum until it compels the attention of law makers or executives and forces them to act. Such a conception, probably more applicable to an earlier period of our history, is now outmoded. The dynamics of the public opinion proc-

ess must now be seen as lying within the framework of collective systems of events. Collective activity is actually the end result of a kind of circular process in which individuals, in their many rôles or capacities of workers, clerks, farmers, merchants, financiers, and executives, all cooperate. Each plays his part, reacting to others who are in rôles similar to or different from his own, in the well-known manner prescribed by the division of industry, transportation, communication, and employee and managerial function. Frequently such organization takes the outlet of collective conflict; each individual doing his part toward an end result, formulated by a leader, and conceived in the interest of those involved upon the one side or the other. Political processes, whether the voting and controls are exercised within a political, an industrial, an ecclesiastical or other organized structure, are merely the popular mandates by which power is conferred upon officials to guide this organized system, or authority given for certain specifications regarding its operation. Societal "event-systems" of this character are enormously complex; and their full description and understanding is beyond the range even of the expert.⁴

³ Cf. Allport, F. H., *Social Psychology*, pp. 305-309; and Allport, F. H., and Katz, D., *Students' Attitudes*, pp. 149-157, 227-229, 347-348.

⁴ For a more extended account of the event-system hypothesis, see Floyd H. Allport, "An Event-system Theory of Collective Action," *Journal of Social Psychology*, May 1940.

Opinion As Energy

Space does not allow us to describe this process in detail. It can only be said that it is this collective event-system framework which, under leadership, determines the character of the solution of an issue and the alternative courses which may be pursued, and not the attitudes of the citizens who operate within it. Attitudes and opinions are neither the initiative nor the directive force of these systems, but are merely the energies (in the form of morale, self-interest, loyalty, etc.) which make them operate. The energies of "public opinion" are thus dynamically like the energy afforded by the spring of a watch. They do not dictate that the outcome will be of a particular character (movement of the hands), but only whether or not the end dictated by the system and its executives will be accomplished. If the energy level is too low (i.e. "public opinion" is too weak or sparse) the end event will not take place. To make it occur, that is, to make the event-system operate, a certain threshold of extensity and intensity must be crossed; and this means that a more widespread appeal must be used, or the conditioning by propaganda of the more fundamental "ground-work" attitudes of citizens to the symbols of control must be effected.

Public opinion, therefore, is likely to be regarded from the standpoint of the directors of the event-system not as something graded or measurable, like all scientific variables upon a continuum, but as an "all or none" affair. It is either *for* a thing or

against it. Voting procedures, whether official or in non-official opinion polls, are really testing devices by which those directing the event-systems can know whether the popular energies for realizing the objectives of those systems will be forthcoming. It is this dichotomous view of public opinion, used for event-system operation, which is responsible for most of the distortions which creep into the current polling methods. From this interpretation we see that the notion of public opinion as that qualitative self-expression of every citizen, upon which a democracy operates, must be drastically modified to fit the modern scene. Public opinion dynamics are no longer of this simple and straightforward sort. The "man in the street" has very little direct knowledge upon which to base his judgment about either national or international policies. His "public" opinion is therefore not of or about himself in a direct relation to his government, but is third-personized; it is about some proposed law, plan, or controlling party the operation of which is beyond his power or understanding, and about which he gets all his information second-hand.

Circular Reinforcement

The dynamic of the "swelling tide" of popular support is itself a circular process, a process of inter-stimulation between the publicists and the people. The output of editors, newswriters, and broadcasters arouses widespread emotion or agreement; the signs of this agreement further encourage the writers and broadcasters, and behind them the

directors of political event-systems, so that they redouble and strengthen their publicity efforts. This increase of publicity in turn raises the energy level of the masses still higher upon the issue, and so on by a process of circular reinforcement. Meanwhile a further circular process of reinforcement is going on through facilitation, attitude of conformity, impression of universality, and projection, among the citizens themselves. The very evidences of this heightened influence (energies) are used by the leaders, under the slogan of "Public Opinion," for the purpose of further accelerating the process. Public opinion thus generates itself, or rather the term "public opinion" is used as a control by which attitudes of citizens of the public are progressively modified in a certain direction. "Public opinion" is thus a tool of collective system control, quite as much as it is an expression of any individual's attitude or feeling.⁵

Dimensions of Opinion Measurement

We can see the influence of the collective event-systems of modern social organization upon the nature of the questions which are asked by the directors of the opinion polls. To show this let us consider the dimensions which opinion measurement might take. Without prejudging the actual number of possible dimensions, we may here name three, viz., the *societal-logical*, the *affective* or *intensity* variable, and the *telic*. By the *societal-logical* dimension we mean a continuum upon which a series of political plans or policies might be stated, all related to each

other as fulfilling in different degrees the purpose of some course of action lying between two definable extremes; for example, a series of plans for extension of government control of industry, varying from no control to the maximal possible control. It is noteworthy that, with few exceptions, this dimension, which is so necessary to discover all phases of opinion on a vital question, has been neglected in the polling procedures. Instead of evoking replies all along a dimension of this sort, the interviewees usually have been asked to state their opinions only upon a single item of such a possible continuum, as for example upon the particular policies of the New Deal Administration. The reason for this takes us back immediately to the event-system and to the administrative dichotomies of energy upon which event-systems operate. Political leaders and newspaper men are not interested in the whole gamut of possible policies, for the debated

⁵ It is sometimes asserted that in dictatorships like Hitler's Germany, in contrast with our democracy, public opinion is not given expression, or is unimportant. The reverse is true. It is given the most vigorous and sustained expression, and is a condition without which the dictator's government could not stand for a week. A "Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment" is entrusted with the important duty of keeping up the energetics of this nationalistic, political and economic event-system. It may be here objected that this kind of public opinion is not what we mean by the term in a democracy. To this the writer replies that it is a more realistic and dynamic picture, none-the-less. So long as the system works (it may, of course, break down later) it is not the private or secret opinion of individuals which counts, but that which is expressed or is checked at the ballot box.

issue lies at only one point of the scale. The question for them is not what possible alternatives there are, and how these fit in with the lay of the attitudes of the citizens, but whether a particular plan in which they are interested can be put into operation. The finer shades of individual choices are thus concealed.

Meanwhile it is possible to bring to bear upon the one, often oversimplified, solution all the weight of rhetoric and propaganda, and to employ toward this objective the mechanisms of impression of universality, conformity, and projection. A good example of this concealing effect is shown in the pollings revealing the trend of favor toward President Roosevelt's administration. With this one position on the continuum alone, we cannot know for certain whether these polls indicate the trend of concern of the people about war-danger, or some other reason connected with the administration, or perhaps a fluctuating regard for Mr. Roosevelt himself. If the Roosevelt administration however were made one step in a number of societal-logical continua, that is, one step through which a number of such continua intersect (e.g. social security, desire to improve business conditions, trend toward economy, or aversion to war), we might be able to tell what this poll-trend really indicates. To be sure we have concurrent samplings on these other questions, but these also do not admit of clear interpretation without a picture of the distribution upon a continuum of which they are a part.

Intensity

The second dimension, that of affect or intensity, measures not the logical position of the choice of the citizen, but the degree of intensity of feeling with which he clings to the choice which he does hold. It applies to one position on the societal-logical continuum alone. Suppose, for example, we take sit-down strikes as one method of a possible range of methods for attempting to settle industrial disputes. The affect continuum here is one of the entire gamut of feeling one might have about this matter, from the most intense opposition to the most intense approval. But here again, the polling procedure, with some exceptions, has been one of simple dichotomy. The question as put has been merely "do you approve or disapprove"?⁶

Here again the reason for the administrative dichotomy lies in the intensity threshold of the event-system. A vote is a vote; it is of no consequence whether the feeling with which it is given is strong or weak, so long as it is on the "approval" side. This is, of course, a short-sighted position, both for democratic ideals and for the prediction of possible future opinion trends, a matter with which every political leader must be deeply concerned. The writer would suggest that an opinion index of true dynamic significance might be afforded by discovering, through polling, that societal-logical continuum on which there would be

⁶ There are some signs however that poll directors may be considering an improvement of their methods by the application of some of the psychological measuring techniques which have been devised.

an increasing skewing of the distribution on the intensity dimension of each succeeding step.

The Telic Dimension

There is, finally, the *telic* dimension. The question here raised is not where the interviewee's choice belongs on a societal-logical scale, nor how intensely he feels about it, but *how effectively will he act* toward its realization. The effectiveness of his action depends somewhat upon the energy he puts forth, but more especially upon the rôle he plays, and is able to play, in the operation of the event-system itself. The technique of this dimension would consist of questions as to what the individual will do in certain circumstances, and a method of evaluating his replies.⁷

This dimension explores the extent to which citizens can or cannot become agents in controlling the systems in which they operate. Hence it may have possibilities for helping us toward the democratic ideal of true individual self-expression in a society cast, as is ours at present, in the mould of event-systems of collective action. The writer knows of no instance thus far of the use of the telic dimension by any of the American polling organizations.

Third Personization

The consideration of what citizens actually will be willing to *do* in a situation brings us to a broader criticism of the type of polling questions usually employed. Public opinion dynamically is an energy level which will make a system of operations work. This fact slants political planning, and therefore opinion inter-

rogatories, in the direction of collective phraseology and broad governmental or social policies, rather than directly toward the more intimate concerns of individuals. Partly this error is inherent in the representative legislative process. Officials must think in somewhat abstract terms of plans for the country as a whole. According to democratic principle they must go back to the citizens for a mandate with reference to these plans. For citizens to give their opinion upon such matters is therefore eminently proper. If, however, we rely mainly upon the presentation of questions of this type, we shall fail to approach realistically the true problem of the meaning of government to individual citizens. The "man in the street," generally speaking, is little informed upon these matters, and no available information would make him competent to decide the merits of the issue as a national or state policy. Even experts are often at sea about such matters.

Consider, for example, questions dealing with such issues as a mea-

⁷ The writer, for example, has conducted preliminary studies to show the effectiveness of the acts which citizens say they would do, in various international crises, toward the bringing about of war with the threatening or offending country. These studies suggest that there is a wide discrepancy (confirmed by the results of some of the smaller British polls) between what an individual would do of his own volition in such a situation and the support which he acknowledges he would give to authorities should they once set the war-machine in operation. See Allport, F. H., and Hanchett, G., "The War-Producing Behaviors of Citizens," *Journal of Social Psychology*, May, 1940.

sure to reorganize the Supreme Court, to alter neutrality restrictions, to authorize greater Congressional control over industry and agriculture, or to authorize a federal loan for the recovery program. In these questions the average citizen can think of the proposal only as something applying to an abstraction such as the State of the Nation. It is vague in its implications, and apart from himself. Sometimes the national entity is almost personified, as in such a question as "should the United States increase the size of its army"? By asking questions of this type we take the issue away from the individual and "third-personize" it. In order to discover how the individual stands in the most dynamic and pragmatic sense, we must bring the problem back for him into the first person. The things which the citizen does know, and the questions which he, and he alone, is competent to answer, are how he is faring under the plan now in operation, what he wants for *himself* (not for the nation), to what degree he is realizing it, and what he is willing personally to do or to sacrifice in order to get it.

For Example

An example of concealment of meanings through third-personization is seen in such interrogatories as "which party would you like to see win the Presidential election of 1940"? Many of those interviewed probably never get beyond the notion of a great Being, the Party, and all the emotional conditioning which they have attached to the stereotypes "Republican" and "Democrat" will

determine their answer. Let us suppose, however, that the interviewee goes beyond personification, and takes the question as referring to individual Republicans or Democrats who will be elected as leaders. In this case the question, to have any point beyond party labelling, must be stated more specifically to call attention to the particular candidates involved; for it is only the background and merits of these actual candidates which has any realistic bearing upon the problem. Men do not acquire any special character by virtue of a label of party affiliation. Or again, it may be the difference of platforms or policies. In this case, similarly, the question should involve this discrimination, and should provide, as usual, some test as to whether the interviewee knows the difference between the platforms of the two parties.

For many to say they "do not know" in response to this more specific questioning might be less exciting for journalistic purposes; but it certainly would be more revealing than the "group fallacy" procedure of asking preference for a party entity. The disclosure of such fields of lack of knowledge would, in itself, be one of the most valuable contributions of the polling procedure. Finally, the third-personized form of this question should be further resolved, and still more illumination produced, by asking the individual interviewed not merely which men or which party policies he prefers, but just what it would mean to him personally if they are, or are not, accepted at the coming election. Such a modification of poll-

ing procedure would, moreover, go far toward eliminating the effects of emotional propaganda, impression of universality, and attitude of conformity which are characteristic of bandwagon movements and other evils of current opinion situations. It would be one step further in the direction of breaking through the event-system of collective action and finding the individual.

Some of the polling questions used are, indeed, couched in these first-personized terms; but they seem to be far outnumbered by questions of the third-personized variety. A preliminary count of 198 of the questions asked over the period from 1937 to 1940, in the American Institute poll shows that the latter stand in a ratio to the former of three to one.*

* The objection might here be raised that we are fighting a straw man; for if a citizen says that he favors some candidate, party, or legislative measure, this means that he believes this candidate, party,

or measure will benefit him personally. This position, however, cannot be taken for granted; it involves too many unknown factors. In the first place, the individual may have no evidence or knowledge as to whether the candidate or policy is benefiting him. There is always likely also to be a confusion in his mind between the "public good" and the "private good"; and the public good, without a knowledge of the good to the individual himself as he experiences it, is, as we have seen, a fiction impossible to appraise. In his ignorance of the workings of a governmental policy or of its precise effects in his own case, an interviewee, if given the chance, may often be glad to gloss over his lack of knowledge by passing judgment upon the policy as a measure for the country as a whole. And this judgment, in the absence of concrete supporting reference to himself or to others, can only be based upon what he has heard, and must, therefore, suffer all the distortions which are latent in the source from which he heard it. And finally, the objection cannot be sustained because of the effects of the secondary factors of impression of universality, conformity, and the like, which are particularly prone to enter in third-personized interrogation, thereby preventing an accurate appraisal of what the issue means to the individual personally.

INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWERS

By James Wechsler

This article discusses the function and technique of interviewers. More particularly, it deals with the effect of the interview situation in forcing the expression of opinions which do not really exist, and the danger of the interviewer's technique distorting the true opinions of respondents. Formerly an editor of *The Nation*, the author is connected with the newspaper *PM*, now in process of organization.

PUBLIC opinion polls are the product of a long and complex assembly line. In the process there are numberless chances for sabotage; and a single error may dwarf a multitude of virtues. Fierce and widespread are debates over the phrasing of questions: the meaning of meaning. No less commonplace is debate over interpretation of replies. Yet by and large, it seems to me, the broad validity of responses is acknowledged. Polls may not offer a precise mirror of minds. They do reflect general and meaningful tendencies. They do so, at least, if we can accept the essential reliability of their executors. That is where the interviewer comes in. It is a very vital place; it may be more important than any other aspect of the process.

The life of an interviewer is obviously not a simple one. It is presumptuous for an observer to tell him how he ought to live his life. Undoubtedly the business of interviewing has both its own occupational risks and its own book of revelations. I have watched interviews take place over a limited time in a limited area. My reactions are far from dogmatic or clear-cut; and it is at once apparent that the surveyors learn a good deal more by

field-work than essay-reading. The problems I want to raise nevertheless seem to warrant consideration. There are two kinds of problems. One involves an appraisal of the interviewer's function. The other involves issues of technique: detachment and the like.

The Interviewer's Function

The problems can be posed best by illustration. The American Institute of Public Opinion submits hundreds of questions to the electorate in the course of a year. Some of them are very simple. Most voters can register their reactions to topless bathing suits without much coercion or enlightenment: they are for or against them, or don't care. No one cares very much about the responses either. But once one enters the realm of public affairs in the grand sense, the difficulties begin to mount. The most obvious difficulty is that the person being interviewed may not know what the interviewer is talking about. In the matter of the embargo there were obviously some people who could not distinguish an embargo from an embezzlement, or who may have only dimly sensed the distinction. Is the interviewer's function one of enlightenment? Or is he

simply designated to discover the level of popular interest and feeling, and to discount the areas of ignorance and half-knowledge? For the obvious truth is that people dislike venturing no opinions, and will frequently venture opinions on subjects quite beyond their immediate horizon of understanding.

The failing is not restricted to the common people, as some of our Congressional debates have indicated. I remember an interviewer desperately trying to ascertain reactions to proposed changes in the Wagner Act. Some people thought the Wagner Act was an unemployment insurance measure and were very vigorous in their thoughts. Obviously what they had to say revealed very little about the merits of the legislation. It revealed a good deal about popular stereotypes. Should that be registered? Or should the interviewer carry a primer in politics? Or should he drop the subject? The answer depends upon what we are trying to discover. If we are trying to find what an articulate, coherent, conscious body of opinion thinks, then those who inhabit the land of fog should be omitted from the census. The man who regards the Wagner Act as a well-known vaudeville performance, and dislikes it, is unlikely to constitute a formidable threat to the legislation.

The matter can be caricatured, but the question is real. Should the interviewer force opinions? I know that the answer will automatically be "no." But the line is not always clear. Given a statement of the problem more complete than a summary

question, most people will have opinions. When is an opinion not an opinion? Do we want to find the largest potential of support for a particular view, or the existing support that can be elicited at the drop of a phrase? Do we want to tabulate answers to utterly misunderstood questions?

The problem of technique is even more complex. Dr. Gallup employs close to 1,000 interviewers. With so large a staff the matter of selection is plainly not an easy one. Risks have to be taken, with the implicit assumption that, if a few err, their misdeeds will be overshadowed by the talents of the many. That assumption undoubtedly covers the area of utter irresponsibility or fraud. While some commentators have suggested that interviewers will quickly discover the art of answering their own questions without prowling about the streets, I doubt that this is the major peril. I am willing to trust humanity in general and Dr. Gallup's checkers in particular. The pitfalls seem to me less dramatic.

There is the initial, palpable but nevertheless insistent question of bias. Dr. Gallup's interviewers are not graduated from Ivory Tower Tech. They probably shouldn't be. But what are the safeguards against electioneering at the polls? It is not enough to know that the political composition of the interviewers is fairly representative, and that just as many Democrats are in a position to stuff the ballot boxes as Republicans. I am assuming that we get an honest count; do we get an honest vote? The possibilities of pressure are

manifold. An interviewer may ask a question in belligerent, positive tones, with the obvious inference that he won't take no for an answer. He (or she) may use cadences so gentle that the person being interviewed will hesitate to voice what may appear a dissenting note. I am especially concerned about interviews that take place with other people watching; perhaps that's not supposed to happen, but it does. A WPA worker in a Republican hotbed will not lay down his economic life for intellectual integrity. A Republican die-hard in a land of Democrats will be similarly circumspect. Individually such cases may seem trifling. Add them up.

Rising Tensions

Consider a more momentous issue. We may be entering a period when the issue of war or peace will confront the nation. I hope that the public opinion industry will not vanish for the duration of that decision; I hope it will flourish. But in a period of that kind the national temperature is going to be very high. Interviewers will have opinions—strong ones. So will whole communities. An interviewer can make his victim extraordinarily uncomfortable. The tone of his voice can do so. The method of presentation may be revealing. We may enter a period when pacifists are suspect, "pro-German," or any of the numberless labels which men live by. Will they feel free to tell all? Will the interviewers remain sufficiently balanced

to read the thermometer accurately?

It is difficult enough to record replies—as well as pose questions—in time of tranquillity. The whole sphere of intensity is one which must make interviewers wonder why they are so inquisitive. I recall a characteristic interview:

Q. Do you believe that the Wagner Act should be revised or left alone?

A. (strongly) I think it should be changed.

Q. Do you feel that strongly?

A. (weakly) No.

What does that mean?

Interviewing is not a diversion (or shouldn't be) for dreamy-eyed school teachers who want to see life. It is a science, with a vast area of uncharted territory to be explored. It requires first of all a clear understanding of what information is being sought. It requires above all an ability to read minds as well as lips. An interviewer who does not understand the questions he is asking is no help at all. An interviewer blind to the social pressures in which his questions are asked will constantly misread replies. An interviewer who wants everyone to agree with him will probably be able to find that agreement without faking the returns; he may need only the grand manner. I do not mean to infer that these questions will come as a revelation to Dr. Gallup. I know that Elmo Roper has tried to meet them by utilizing a small staff and acting as a father confessor to each member. I am suggesting only that these matters of detail are crucial.

REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLING AND POLL RELIABILITY

By S. S. Wilks

A mathematical statistician at Princeton University describes the principles of representative sampling which underlie modern polling techniques, and the extent to which poll results obtained from representative samples can be relied on to indicate the opinions of the whole population.

WITH THE growing popularity of public opinion polls, there is an increasing amount of discussion regarding the reliability of results obtained by polls. Some of the discussion deals with the validity of public opinion on questions and issues on which it is claimed that the public is not qualified to pass competent judgment. Questions are raised about the influence of different wordings and the effect of the interviewer's personality on answers obtained from pollsters. But, apart from recognized limitations of this kind which deserve a separate treatment in any symposium on polls, a great deal of the current discussion centers around the validity of the sampling method *per se* as a scientific procedure in polling.

Popular critics of the polls constantly raise the question of how one can seriously make statements about the opinion of millions of people from the corresponding opinion of a few thousand. "I don't know anyone who has ever been interviewed in a public opinion poll" has come to be a stock phrase in criticising the idea of estimating national opinion from a sample. It is evident that very few of these critics are familiar with the nature of the principles of sampling and of probability which

form the basis of the modern polling technique; principles which have been developed and widely applied over a period of more than two hundred years.

The critics frequently hark back to the *Literary Digest* fiasco of 1936 in trying to support their argument, without seeming to realize that the *Digest* poll was conducted without proper regard to the principles of scientific sampling, upon which the new polling technique is based.

A Statistical Population

Every sampling procedure, whether it is in genetics, immunology, public opinion, market research, or in any other field of investigation, is carried out with reference to a fundamental statistical population of elements or units. For example, the distribution of blood groups in Florida's population of Seminole Indians can be investigated by sampling. A manufacturer who wishes to advertise in *Life* magazine is interested in the population of *Life* readers, how large the population is, who the people are, how they are distributed with respect to economic status, and how this population of readers compares with that of other magazines. In public opinion surveys on national political issues, Gallup defines his national

population as the class of all eligible U.S. voters, while the *Fortune* population for public opinion surveys on social and economic questions is defined as the class of all people in the U.S. who are at least 21 years of age.

The purpose of the sampling procedure is to estimate in a reliable manner means, percentages, and other statistical quantities of the given population at a reasonable cost, using only a small fraction of the population. It is obviously impractical or even impossible to determine by a complete count the percentage of individuals in the United States at least 21 years old who would favor a given government proposal. Yet it is possible by scientific sampling to make a close estimate of such a percentage.

It should be pointed out that populations are subject to changes in time. For example, the population of eligible U.S. voters, as far as opinion regarding Finland is concerned, changed considerably after the Russian attack on Finland—the actual members of the population did not change; the opinion of the members changed. In thinking about a population, it is usually convenient to think of it at a particular point in time and to think of different populations (made up of the same individuals, of course) at different points in time. As time changes, the population changes in some respects and remains comparatively stable in others.

Random Sampling

If a population to be polled is small and defined in a clear-cut manner, and is such that a random sample

of individuals can easily be drawn and interviewed, there is not much difficulty in carrying out a sampling procedure. For example, if a 10 per cent sample of a certain college student body were to be polled, a satisfactory procedure, although not perfectly random, would be to take every tenth name in the college student directory.

In the case of large-scale polls, which are made on a state-wide or nation-wide basis, it is clear that it would be impossible, or at any rate highly impractical to draw a random sample from the population under consideration. Even if a sample of several thousand names were taken at random from a fresh set of U.S. census files, it would be very impractical to reach the individuals for interviewing purposes. It is well known that interviewing by mail does not yield satisfactory results without a great deal of effort—the difficulty is in getting an unbiased return of questionnaires. Without some such scheme as census files, in a national poll there is very little assurance that a sample of several thousand individuals can be regarded as a random sample from the United States.

Representative Sampling

The newer method of polling is based on a few simple principles of a type of sampling known as "representative" or "stratified" sampling. The representative method of sampling requires that the sample of individuals to be polled be a "properly balanced cross section" of the various important groups of individ-

uals which form the population to be sampled. By a "properly balanced cross section" of the population, we mean a sample of individuals in which the important groups defined by some "relevant" classification of the individuals which make up the population are represented in the sample in proportion to the number of individuals in these population groups. Such a sample may be said to be representative with respect to these groups.

For example, a sample from a population of eligible voters is representative with respect to sex if it contains as many men as women who are at least 21 years old. It is representative with respect to radio-owning families if the ratio of owners to non-owners in the sample is the same as that of owners to non-owners in the population. A sample can of course be made representative with respect to any number of mutually exclusive population groups.

In the case of U.S. national public opinion polls, such as the Crossley, Gallup, and *Fortune* polls, it has been found that it is sufficient for practical purposes to make the sample: (1) representative with respect to several major U.S. geographical or census districts; (2) representatives with respect to a group of several city sizes and rural population within each district; (3) representative with respect to age, sex, color, and economic status for each population subgroup under (2).

More specifically, what is done is to select several hundred fairly small sampling areas (e.g., cities, counties, etc.) over the United States which

may be regarded as a representative sampling by areas of major geographical districts, and allocate the sampling to these areas in such a way that the portion of the sample drawn from each area is representative with respect to age, sex, color, and economic status within that area. The numbers of individuals allocated to the areas are chosen in such a way that the sample is representative with respect to city size and rural population in each major district; the numbers allocated to the major districts being proportional to the population sizes in the districts. Extensive use is made of U.S. census and similar data in order to obtain the proper proportions of individuals to be included in these various population subgroups.

Economic Status

The most difficult factor to deal with in securing a representative sample is economic status. Such criteria as income and house rent are not only very difficult or even impossible to apply in practice, but have no absolute meaning over the whole country. A \$3,000-a-year salary in a small Arkansas town means one thing and a \$3,000-a-year salary in New York City means something entirely different. The problem of economic status in sampling is handled at present on what amounts to a relative basis in each sampling locality in terms of four or five levels of standard of living adjusted to the locality.

A great difficulty in making a sample representative with respect to economic status is the fact that the proportions of individuals falling

into the arbitrarily defined levels is known only very roughly. Fortunately, however, the device of using "check data" related to social and economic status, or even political status, has been found to be satisfactory for determining whether or not a given set of proportions to be assigned to the economic levels can be regarded as a reasonably good approximation to the true proportions in the population. The "check data" is obtained from each individual in the sample to determine how well the distribution of a certain characteristic in the sample agrees with the corresponding distribution in the population.

For example, each individual may be asked if he belongs to a family which owns an automobile, or a radio, or subscribes to a telephone, or he may be asked how he voted at the last presidential election. The percentages of people owning automobiles, radios, or subscribing to telephones, or voting for Roosevelt in 1936 are known with considerable accuracy and can be compared with the corresponding percentages obtained in the samples to see how well the sample is balanced with respect to these characteristics in the population.

A national sample which has been made representative with respect to geographical district, city size and the rural group, age, sex, color and economic status is usually found to agree fairly closely with "check data." If it is found that the proportion of automobile owners, radio owners, etc., is too high in a preliminary sample, this is taken as evi-

dence that too many individuals in the higher economic levels have been included, and steps are taken to re-allocate the sampling with respect to economic status so as to include more individuals in lower economic levels and fewer in the higher levels.

The problem of securing a representative sample is often a trial and error matter on experimental samples. The trial and error principle is carried on until the sampling system yields samples which agree within fairly close limits with the population on the "check data." This procedure is actually an experimental method of determining approximately the proportions of individuals to be drawn from the arbitrarily defined economic levels.

An Assumption

If the opinion of each individual in a sample which has been made representative is asked on a given question, it is assumed that the distribution of opinion in the sample will approximate that in the population in the same manner in which the distribution of "check data" in the sample approximates that in the population. The basis for this assumption is that the method which has been used in classifying the population into subgroups is a "relevant" method, that is, it is such that it yields subgroups within which opinion is relatively more homogeneous than it would be if all groups were thrown together, and furthermore that the sampling is representative with respect to the subgroup and is random within each subgroup. Of course other methods of dividing the population into subgroups could be

used, but it can be said that representative sampling based on any two "relevant" methods of subdividing a population will give very similar results.

Of course there are situations, particularly elections, in which the results of opinion as revealed in polls can be checked directly with that in the population. The success with which the results of scientifically conducted polls check with election results is well known. It should be pointed out, however, that agreement between poll results and election results is not necessarily an acid test of the reliability of the polls, unless the distribution of opinion in the portion of the eligible voters who actually vote is the same as that in the portion which does not vote. In presidential elections, only between two-thirds and three-fourths of the eligible voters go to the polls, and unless opinion among non-voters is substantially different from that among the voters, public opinion poll results and the election results should be in fairly close agreement. In the case of some primary elections, elections on referenda, etc., where the voting participation may run only about one-tenth to one-half of the eligible voters, the difference in opinion between the voters and the non-voters may become a very important factor.

Sampling Fluctuations

Now, suppose a sample has been made representative with respect to the important population subgroups and suppose the "yes" percentage to a certain question is calculated from the sample. This percentage cannot

be assumed to be exactly the same as that for the entire population, as some popular users of poll results seem to imply in their statements. The sample percentage is subject to "sampling fluctuations." This means that if a large number of similar representative samples of the same size had been drawn, the "yes" percentages in all these samples would differ slightly from each other but would be clustered around the true value of the "yes" percentage in the whole population.

The situation is similar to what would happen if a sack of coins were repeatedly poured out on the floor. In repeated pourings, the percentage of heads would fluctuate around 50 per cent of all coins. The greater the number of coins in the sack, the smaller the relative amount of fluctuation on the average. For example, if a sack of 400 coins were used, the percentage of times in a large number of repeated pourings that the number of heads would fall between 174 and 226 would be approximately the same as the percentage of times the number of heads would fall between 748 and 852 if 1600 coins had been used. The percentage in both cases is about 99 per cent. The range in the first case is within 13 per cent of the 200 "expected" heads, while the range in the latter case is within $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the 800 "expected" heads.

The strongest reason, perhaps, for making a sample representative with respect to important population subgroups is to increase the assurance that the "yes" percentages which would result in repeated samples will actually cluster around the true "yes"

percentage in the population. In other words, representativeness decreases the risk of getting a biased sample.

The ill-fated *Literary Digest* poll of 1936 is an excellent example of a biased system of sampling which produced successive batches of straw ballots in which the "for Roosevelt" percentages clustered around a figure which was much too low. There were two major sources of bias in the *Literary Digest* poll. One was that the names of people to be polled were selected from such lists as telephone directories, automobile registration lists, etc. It is quite obvious that such a system of selection will be biased by having too large a proportion of the higher income and social groups, which in the 1936 presidential election were known to be heavily weighted in favor of Landon. Another main source of bias was the dependence of the *Digest* on return of ballots by mail. It is well known that individuals in the lower income levels are not as responsive to mail ballots as those higher up the scale, which would only accentuate the first kind of bias. In order to get around the difficulties inherent in mail ballots, the modern technique, as practised, for example, by Crossley, Gallup, and *Fortune* in their polls, relies entirely on personal interviews.

Confidence Limits

Assuming that the "rules" of representative sampling have been followed, the larger the samples, the more concentrated the clustering of "yes" percentages in the samples around the true "yes" percentage in

the population. In other words, for truly representative samples, the larger the sample the more "accurate" poll results are likely to be. The law by which these sample percentages, for a given sample size, scatter around the *true* or population percentage under ideal sampling conditions can be fairly accurately described mathematically.

About all we can do in the case of a single sample which has been drawn according to the rules of representative sampling, is to use the "yes" percentage in the sample and calculate from the mathematical law of distribution a pair of *confidence limits* corresponding to some commonly used probability level, e.g. 0.99, and say that the probability is 0.99 (or the chances are 99 out of 100) that the true "yes" percentage for the whole population is included between these confidence limits.

Obviously, then, in calculating confidence limits for a particular poll, for example a Gallup or *Fortune* poll, we must take into account the fact that the samples used in different individual polls vary considerably in size. In general, the *minimum* size of sample used in any typical, nation-wide poll by these organizations is about 3,000. Often the number of people interviewed is greater, occasionally running as high as 50,000.¹

To be conservative, suppose we consider a sample of 3,000 cases which satisfies the ideal conditions of representative sampling. Assume that the "yes" percentage on a cer-

¹ For example, the size of sample used by the *Fortune* surveys is now uniformly 5,200.

tain question in this sample is 60 per cent. We cannot say that exactly 60 per cent of the individuals in the whole population would answer "yes" to the question, but we can say, assuming that the sample is truly representative, that the chances are at least 99 out of 100 that the percentage of "yeses" in the whole population would be between the 99 per cent confidence limits, which in this case would be somewhere between 57.5 per cent and 62.5 per cent approximately.

The only way in which the confidence limits can be brought closer together for a given probability level is to increase the sample size. For example, in samples of 3,000, the 99 per cent confidence limits are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on either side of the sample percentage, varying slightly with different sample percentages, while in samples of 10,000 they are a little more than 1 per cent on either side.² In other words, with the larger sample the likelihood is increased that the sample percentage will be closer to the true percentage in the whole population.

"Majority" and "Trend"

Frequently one hears people quoting the percentage of "yes" votes obtained in a poll as proving that a "majority" of the population approve or disapprove a given policy, or citing the percentages obtained in successive polls on the same question as evidence of a "trend" of opinion in one direction or another. Such statements must be made with the greatest caution.

Suppose, for example, that in a sample of 3,000 cases drawn from a

large population, 48 per cent answer "yes" to a certain question and 39 per cent answer "no," while the remaining 13 per cent have no opinion. We know that we cannot rely on these figures as being exactly those in the population as a whole, and that we must make allowance for the fact that the true percentage in the whole population may vary on either side of the figures obtained from the sample. The question then becomes how strongly in the case given above can we take the poll results as evidence that a majority of the whole population would actually answer "yes" to the given question? In view of the uncertainty with which we can estimate the "yes" vote in the entire population from the "yes" vote in a sample, it is clear that the difference between the "yes" and "no" percentages in a population can be estimated from a sample only to within limits corresponding to any given probability level.

It can be shown under the "rules" of representative sampling that at the 0.99 probability level the 9 per cent difference between the "yes" and "no" votes in the case given above does reflect a genuine difference in the population from which the sample is taken. At the 0.99 probability level, the critical difference³ in per-

² A chart from which one can obtain 99 per cent confidence limits corresponding to any given "yes" (or "no") percentage for each of several sample sizes is given on page 333.

³ Critical values of the difference between two (e.g. "yes" and "no") percentages within a sample for the 0.99 and 0.95 levels of probability can be determined approximately for various sample sizes from the chart on page 336.

centages is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for samples of 3,000. A difference larger than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent can be taken as indicating a genuine difference between "yes" and "no" percentages in the population at the 0.99 probability level. On the other hand, in the case cited above, if the difference between the "yes" and "no" percentages had been less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent—suppose, for example, that the "yes" percentage had been 45 and the "no" 42—we could not always be sure at the 0.99 probability level that these percentages reflect a genuine difference in the population. The critical difference of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is conservative at the 0.99 probability level in the sense that it is an upper limit which holds for all possible combinations of "yes" and "no" percentages (not too small) in the population. It is conservative in a further sense because the sampling is representative rather than random. In other words, the probability level is at least 0.99.

Turning to a related situation, suppose we have two polls of 3,000 cases each (i.e. two different samples) and that the "yes" percentages in the two polls are 42 per cent and 48 per cent respectively. For example, the 42 per cent may be the "yes" percentage on a question in September while the 48 per cent may be the "yes" percentage on the same question in December. The question arises as to whether the 6 per cent difference can be taken as indicative of a genuine change in opinion, assuming of course that the sampling has been done correctly in both cases. It can be shown that this difference is signifi-

cant at the 0.99 probability level. In fact the critical difference⁴ between two percentages in different samples of 3,000 cases each is about 3.5 per cent at the 0.99 probability level. If the difference is less than 3.5 per cent, however, we can not be sure at this level of probability that there actually has been a change of opinion in the population as a whole. This critical difference is also on the conservative side at the 0.99 probability level.

Summary

Representative sampling as practised in scientific polling and in many large-scale surveys is a practical device for overcoming the difficulties which arise in trying to get a purely random sample from the given population. Assuming the validity of questions and a sound interviewing technique, the more closely the "rules" of representative sampling are followed in conducting a poll, the greater the precision, for a given sample size, with which inferences can be drawn about a population from the information furnished by the poll. If a sample has been made representative with respect to the important population subgroups, the accuracy with which a "yes" (or "no") percentage in a population can be estimated from the corresponding "yes" (or "no") percentage in the sample of a given size can be expressed only in terms of probability. For any given probability level, confidence limits of a given

⁴ A chart giving critical differences of percentages for various combinations of sample sizes at the 0.99 probability level is given on page 337.

population percentage can be calculated from the sample. For samples of 3,000, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on each side of a sample percentage can be taken as conservative 99 per cent confidence limits. In other words, if a sample of 3,000 cases is truly representative, the probability is at least 0.99 that a "yes" percentage in the population will be within $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the "yes" percentage in the sample. The larger the sample, the closer together will be the confidence limits.

Whether or not a difference between two percentages within a sample reflects a genuine difference be-

tween the corresponding percentages in the population can never be stated with certainty but only in terms of probability. A similar statement holds for the difference between percentages in different samples. For example, a difference of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent or more between the "yes" and "no" percentages in a sample of 3,000 can be considered to reflect a genuine difference between "yes" and "no" in the population at the 0.99 probability level. The critical value of the difference at this level of probability between "yes" (or "no") answers in two different samples of 3,000 is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

CLASSIFYING RESPONDENTS BY ECONOMIC STATUS

By Elmo Roper

The preceding article points out that "the most difficult factor to deal with in securing a representative sample is economic status." To illustrate some of the problems involved and how they may be met in practice, Mr. Roper, who conducts the *Fortune* Surveys, has been asked to describe the methods used by his organization in classifying interviewees according to economic level.

THE PROBLEM of how to properly appraise the economic level of respondents is one that has long engaged the attention of students of the sampling technique. While it is true that there are many questions where the age or sex of the respondent is the determining factor in how he or she thinks or votes, it is now generally recognized that in matters having to do with politics or economics, the economic level breakdown is of at least equal importance—and much harder to classify.

Even though it were easy—which it is not—to determine the exact dollar income of the respondent, there would still remain a most difficult problem of proper classification. The owner of a small shoe store in Dubuque, Iowa, who is married, has no children, and enjoys an income of \$5,000 a year, finds himself thrown with the prosperous people of the town. He belongs to the Rotary Club and the golf club; he takes vacations; his wife has a maid; he drives the kind of a car he wants; and in general he finds himself, economically, close to "the top of the heap" in Dubuque. His association with other prosperous people inclines him to regard his fate as being rather intimately bound up with that of the

prosperous people elsewhere. He is, in fact, apt to think and vote on questions of a political-economic nature as do other people who regard themselves as members of the "A" or "prosperous" group elsewhere.

Give that same \$5,000 a year income to an assistant sales manager who lives in New York City and has two daughters of school age, and you will find that he does not regard himself as belonging to the same economic level as the Dubuque shoe dealer, nor does he think or vote like that man on many important subjects. Even though he has the same dollar income, he is a member of the upper middle class income group in New York, not the prosperous.

Such facts are of course well known, and the futility of establishing fixed dollar boundary lines between economic levels has long been recognized. Various devices, some simple and some very complex, have been set up to handle the situation. I recall a set of instructions to interviewers which said that the boundary line between the A's and the B's was whether a maid answered the door. Obviously this is not a good indication, taken by itself, because not only do many B's everywhere have maids, but there is also the

great difference between the South, where many people of lower middle class incomes have a poorly paid colored servant, and the Middle Western small towns where maids are rare, even among the prosperous.

We have accordingly for over six years followed an economic level designation which aimed to take account, not only of geographical variations in average income, but also size of place variations in average income. It is admittedly not one that can be carried out faithfully by an inexperienced or poorly trained group of interviewers. In fact it is, as was intimated before, the hardest single factor for the interviewer to determine correctly. That is why for nearly three years we have been taking our interviewers out of their home communities for from two to eight weeks' training with some one from our New York office, in addition to their training at home, largely for further experience in arriving at uniform ratings.

Our divisions might be said to be based on a "scale of living" classification, and represent a sliding scale from those at the top who own, and can afford, a luxurious yacht down to those who are in abject poverty—even below the "relief" level. Admittedly our classification is subject to error but we feel that, given intelligent and well trained interviewers, the errors are fewer than in any other method with which we are familiar.

Economic Levels

We use four economic levels when only whites are considered. At the

top are the "A's," who might also be called "the prosperous." According to our scale, they represent 7 per cent of the public. They are the ones who take the comforts and necessities of life for granted, and are able to afford *all the luxuries common to their community*. Obviously in Dubuque, Iowa, this does not mean either a yacht or a penthouse. In New York City, an unmarried lawyer with no dependents and an income of \$7,500 a year would squeeze in at the bottom end of this classification. If this same lawyer were interviewed several years before his earnings had reached \$7,500, say when they were \$2,500, but if he were living at home with affluent parents, he would still be rated as an "A," despite his relatively low earnings. Certain Nebraska farmers, with families, and a fairly steady *cash* income of \$2,500 a year, are also in the "A" economic level. (In certain studies—but not the *Fortune* Survey—we arbitrarily set up an "AA" classification in which the financial atmosphere is very rarified indeed.)

It is necessary to bear constantly in mind that ours is a sliding scale. At the top of our next group, the "B's" or people of upper middle class incomes, are those who take the comforts and necessities of life for granted—except in severe depressions—and who pick and choose among the luxuries. In a small Middle Western city this might mean long and rather expensive vacations, made possible because there was no great interest in belonging to a golf club. In our sample, these people represent 25 per cent of the population.

At the top of the third, or "C" group (which might be called the group of lower middle class incomes), are those who take the comforts and necessities of life for granted so long as their fairly secure jobs last, and who *reach up for*, and *save up for*, some of the simpler luxuries. Numerically—and often I think in more ways than numerically—these people represent the backbone of America, 45 per cent of the population.

Our fourth group is one of "poor people." We call it "D" and it contains 23 per cent of the population. At the top of this group are those people who have the necessities of life and some of the comforts so long as their not-too-secure jobs last, but who have to reach up for, and save up for, any major necessity expenditures such as new clothes for the children when school opens. With such folk at the top, this group runs down to include people who are not even fortunate enough to be on relief.

Depending on the nature of the study being conducted, we sometimes have a fifth group, "N," com-

posed of Negroes. This is a classification used regularly in the *Fortune* Survey, but on questions where we are trying to estimate voting strength the Southern Negroes are disregarded. This separate Negro classification as used in the *Fortune* Surveys represents 9.6 per cent of our sample, and the other four groups are refigured accordingly.

We have found this rather arbitrary definition of income levels fairly satisfactory over a six-year period and others have recently used it with some success. Our checking data, such as electric meters, owned and rented homes, telephones, automobiles, etc., have indicated that, if errors are made, they tend to cancel out fairly well.

There is some correlation, of course, between income levels and intelligence levels, but it is by no means as fixed as some might suppose. In a questionnaire on that subject which we sent out to certain of our interviewers some time ago "C" men were ranked superior in intelligence to "A" women by more than a majority of the interviewers.

POLL DATA AND THE STUDY OF OPINION DETERMINANTS

By Leo Crespi and Donald Rugg

Students of public opinion are interested not only in ascertaining opinion but in understanding it. This article points out some of the limitations inherent in poll data and the consequent precautions that must be observed in using such data to discover determinants of opinion. Mr. Crespi is a Walker Fellow in Psychology at Princeton University and Mr. Rugg a research assistant of the Princeton Public Opinion Research Project.

THE PUBLIC opinion polls add a new and highly useful tool to the research kit of the social scientist. But like other new tools, this one may be hailed by some investigators as the solution to all their problems or condemned by others as wholly useless. In evaluating the adequacy of this new instrument it is essential to bear in mind certain differences between the interests of social scientists and of poll administrators. The poll administrator's job is chiefly that of *reporting* public opinion on important issues of the day; the social scientist's job is to *understand* that opinion, to determine, if possible, its genesis and its relationship to group or institutional affiliations, to personal values, and the like. These somewhat divergent purposes create certain limitations of poll data for the social scientist, limitations which must be kept in mind if the instrumentality of the polls is to be properly employed.

For one thing, the social scientist would like much more information regarding the respondent than the poll administrator himself needs in order to create his representative population. The latter, for example, does not need to know the educational or religious background of

people in order to construct his miniature sample population. But for the social scientist, these and other bits of information may be of enormous importance in understanding *why* opinion is as it is, why differences of opinion are found in different groups, or why certain opinions change over a period of time. Since more complete information could not be obtained without great additional expense, the social scientist must content himself with the available data. These data themselves are enormously revealing. But they must be analyzed with caution.

The poll administrator adjusts his sample to the population of people known from census data and other authoritative estimates to fall into certain groups by age, sex, economic status and the like. Presumably, then, each group in the poll population will influence opinion with the same relative strength as it does in the national population. At first glance, it would appear that information with respect to the comparative effect of membership in the different groups on opinion could be obtained with little difficulty. One would merely have to obtain the conventional "breakdowns" of the poll data, i.e.,

the way men vote on a question as compared with women, urban dwellers as compared with rural, old people as compared with young, etc. If differences of age give a spread of opinion, then age is assumed to be an important determinant; if men vote differently than women, then sex is assumed to be a determinant; likewise with the other characteristics.

Interrelated Variables

But there is a fallacy in this procedure, a fallacy which is not easily avoided when dealing with poll data. The nature of the sample is such that these characteristics are not independent but interrelated. This point can best be clarified by an example. Suppose the breakdowns of poll data on a certain question have the following pattern: no sectional differences in opinion, no rural-urban differences, no sex differences, no occupational or religious differences. The only differences found are with respect to economic status and age.

PERCENT OF "YES" RESPONSES IN
EACH GROUP

Wealthy	60%
Above wealthy	50
Average	47
Below average	45
Poor	45
On relief	43
Over 50 yrs. old	63
40-50 yrs.	55
30-40 yrs.	50
Under 30 yrs.	45

Since economic status and age are the only two characteristics which produce differences of opinion, one might conclude that they are the

two determinants of opinion on this question. Furthermore, since the spread of opinion produced by each is approximately equal, it might also be assumed that they are equally important determinants. The erroneous nature of such assumptions is revealed when the structure of the sample is analyzed. We may find, for example, that ninety per cent of the wealthy group consists of individuals fifty years of age or more, while in the other economic groups age is more evenly distributed. This means that much of the spread of opinion attributed to economic status could readily be due to age, for the largest part of the difference within economic status occurs between the wealthy and above average groups, which is the same place where the largest discrepancy in age distribution is found. Thus we may have falsely ascribed the difference to economic status, when it was in reality due to age.

Mirror of the Population

Why, the reader may inquire, are not people of all ages included in equal proportions in each economic group, so that the average age of each economic group would be similar? If such were the case, any differences in opinion found in the economic status breakdown would truly be due to economic status. Before answering, it should be pointed out that the actual poll situation is much more complicated than our simplified example. What we have pictured as occurring with economic status and age may well occur with other characteristics also. A differ-

ence of opinion between people in two educational levels, presumed to be due to the characteristic of education, may be due actually to economic status, since, generally speaking, the individuals with more education are also those of the higher economic strata. Again the reader may ask, why not pick the sample so that people of all economic groups are represented in equal numbers in each educational group?

Or, stated more generally, why are all the other characteristics not evenly distributed with respect to the several values of each characteristic, so that any differences of opinion which appear among these values can be attributed to the influence of this characteristic alone? This would mean, for example, that in each age group the other characteristics of sex, economic status, occupation, and the like, would be evenly distributed. There would be in each age group equal numbers of each sex, of each economic group, and so forth. This procedure, though it would be ideal for the social scientist interested in unearthing the determinants of opinion, is not followed by the polls for the simple fundamental reason that the characteristics under consideration do not arrange themselves in this fashion in the general population. It so happens that the greater proportion of wealthy people in the country as a whole are also the older people; likewise that the more highly educated people tend to be those in the higher economic brackets. Other characteristics are similarly interrelated. The polls, since they wish to picture the opinion of the country

as a whole, must preserve these relationships in their sample. To include a balanced number of young wealthy people, of poor educated people, would, it is true, help the social analyst in his search for the determinants of opinion, but it would seriously distort the picture of what public opinion on a given issue actually is in the country.

This does not in any sense mean that the poll data are useless for the purposes of the social analyst. It only means that certain precautions must be observed in the interpretation of the data, particularly as regards the determinants of opinion. Also, it is possible, by the use of a special technique, to circumvent certain of the difficulties introduced by the interrelationship of the various characteristics in the poll samples. This technique will be described briefly.

Corrective Technique

The investigator has a series of charts which show the structure of the typical sample of the poll whose data he is analyzing. They indicate to what extent variation in one characteristic is paralleled by variation in the other characteristics. For example, they would show that variation in economic status is paralleled by variation in age, and that variation in educational level is simultaneously accompanied by variation in economic status. With these charts in mind, the investigator notes those characteristics which produce substantial differences in opinion, and those which produce little or no differences. If in either case it is found

by reference to the charts that variation in the characteristic under consideration is not accompanied by variation in other characteristics, the differences in opinion which it produces can be attributed to it alone. If, however, other characteristics vary concurrently with it, further analysis must be made.

If two characteristics are simultaneously varying, the particular effect of each upon differences in opinion can often be approached by means of what is termed the "two-way breakdown." Consider again economic status and education which we find to vary together in our sample. How can we be assured that an observed difference in percentages of "yes" responses to a proposition from low to high educational groups is not effected by the simultaneous change from lower to higher economic status? We can examine the spread of opinion by educational level separately within *each* economic group. If the trend of differences in opinion, as education increases from the lowest amount category to the highest, is found to be substantially the same in *each* economic group as it was before the breakdown, the economic factor is ruled out as a cause of the trend. Barring

other co-varying characteristics, then education can be looked upon as the determinant of the difference in opinion.

If more than two characteristics vary together, to disentangle their separate effects upon the expression of opinion becomes very difficult. At best only suggestive deductions can be drawn. The number of cases becomes vanishingly small if a "three-way breakdown" is attempted, that is, a separate examination of each characteristic within each of the possible combination of values for the other two characteristics.

By the procedures we have sketched, the social scientist may get somewhat closer to the determinants of opinion with data already available. But once these are found, he should not rest content at this meager sociological or statistical level of explanation. If more information concerning the respondents cannot be obtained for reasons of finance or because of the technical limitations inherent in the polling procedure, the social scientist must supplement his findings and enrich his interpretation with detailed interviews, community studies, life histories and other appropriate techniques.

THREE CRITERIA: KNOWLEDGE, CONVICTION, AND SIGNIFICANCE

By Daniel Katz

This article evaluates public opinion polls according to three criteria: (1) Do people know enough about the questions asked to give reliable and meaningful answers? (2) Do they have convictions upon the subject sufficient to give stability to their answers? (3) Are the questions asked of any real significance for social science? The author is a social psychologist at Princeton University.

ABOUT fifty years ago William James wrote in prophetic vein: "Messrs. Darwin and Galton have set the example of circulars of questions sent out by the hundred to those supposed able to reply. The custom has spread, and it will be well for us in the next generation if such circulars be not ranked among the common pests of life. Meanwhile information grows, and results emerge."¹

In his phrase "those supposed able to reply" James recognized the basic problem in opinion research which is the major concern of these few pages. For the competence of people in answering various types of questions and the evaluation of their answers lie at the heart of any questionnaire method whether it be a written personality inventory or an oral interview. Recent criticisms by Hugh Johnson and Robert Moses of the Gallup polls have produced a popular awareness of this problem—long a matter of concern in the field of psychological and social science. In this field attempts have been made to insure reliability in the answers of respondents by questioning only for limited purposes. For example, in devising methods for measuring attitudes, L. L. Thurstone restricted his conception of attitude to feelings of

like or dislike for social symbols.² He realized that this area of feeling-tone toward words such as the Catholic Church or the Democratic Party could be tapped much more readily and reliably through the questionnaire technique than could other psychological areas. In social surveys, moreover, it is an accepted practice to pre-test attitudinal material to insure the exclusion of questions which can not be answered meaningfully by respondents. And this practice implies more qualitative analysis than do the trial runs of the polls.

Knowledge, Conviction, Significance

In evaluating the public opinion polls three criteria are of interest to the social scientist: (1) Do people know enough about the questions asked to give reliable and meaningful answers? (2) Do people have convictions upon the subject so that there is real stability to their answers? (3) Assuming that answers can be obtained with a satisfactory degree of reliability, are the ques-

¹ William James, *Principles of Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt, 1890, Vol. I, p. 194.

² L. L. Thurstone, "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1928, 33, 529-554.

tions themselves of any genuine significance for social science?

These three criteria of *knowledge*, *conviction* and *significance* can be more profitably applied to the polls if we first analyze the psychological areas to which questions have been directed. These psychological areas are of four types: (1) motives or reasons why; (2) affect, or feelings of favor or disfavor toward social symbols, for example, the emotional reactions of rejection or approval which the term New Deal arouses in many people; (3) ideas and opinions about public and social issues; and (4) ideas and opinions about personal problems.

Motives

Perhaps the most important area is that of motives. Here the polls can make no great contribution, for the questionnaire method tells us relatively little of the real reasons back of behavior. Only in special instances do people have sufficient insight to report accurately about their motivation. An individual's account of his motives, nonetheless, is useful as a rationalized statement of his purposes. Though it does not indicate his underlying motive, it may well indicate the goal toward which he is moving.⁸ In fairness to the polls, moreover, it should be noted that they have wisely refrained from asking many questions about motives. They can be criticized for this omission, but not very justly, since no one method of social investigation can cover all the areas of study.

Affect Toward Symbols

In the area of feeling toward symbols fall the real bread-and-butter questions of the polls—the political preferences of the voting public. Political party names and the names of the leading contestants in a final election are labels which evoke an emotional (more properly an affective) response of like or dislike. In this general area the three criteria of knowledge, conviction, and significance are met in a highly satisfactory manner. The only knowledge necessary is familiarity with the symbol or label. Knowledge of the party platform or of its historical background is not necessary to indicate preference for it. We do not go to a public opinion poll to find out about what a party has to offer the country. Conviction is guaranteed by the emotional coloring of the political symbols. The significance for social science of the numerous miniature elections of the polls is perhaps more debatable. We will know in time how people vote on election day and the pre-knowledge is more valuable practically than scientifically. But the trends in voting preference during the campaign which the polls furnish can be analyzed in relation to objective events and in relation to income, age and other groupings of the voting population.

The great contribution of the polls to social research comes in this area of feeling-tone. They have estab-

⁸ A neat account of this point is furnished in Sorel's demonstration of the reinforcing effect of social myths or ideologies in dramatizing the aspirations of popular movements. Cf. G. Sorel, *Reflections On Violence*. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1914.

lished once and for all a point which laboratory experiments and social surveys had failed to clinch, namely that the questionnaire technique can give highly reliable and highly valid results in revealing people's feelings toward social symbols. By accurate predictions of elections the polls have made it incontrovertible that people will respond in actual social situations as they do when responding to an oral or written questionnaire, provided that the situation is similar and in this general affective area.⁴

The popular writer seems to think in blanket terms. Because he is impressed by the success of the polls in election prediction he will generalize this success to all the questions asked by the polls. Or impressed by some questionable finding on a public issue he will damn the polls completely. Neither alternative is correct. By their accurate prediction of election returns the polls have justified the questionnaire method for sampling affective responses to social symbols.

Personal and Public Opinions

In the third and fourth areas of ideas on personal and public issues and attitudes toward social action it is essential to apply the criteria of knowledge, conviction and significance very strictly. If people lack a minimum knowledge of such issues as balancing the budget or amending the Wagner Act, then their answers will be a function of elements in the questioning method other than the real meaning of the question which is posed for them. This may not necessarily appear in a reliability co-

efficient of the sample, but it will be there nevertheless.

The American Institute of Public Opinion and *Fortune* pretest their questions to avoid phrasing which will be unintelligible to the public and to avoid issues unknown to the man on the street. The findings of the American Institute on this score are interpreted by its own representatives as evidence of their errors in the past in assuming a higher level of knowledge on pressing public questions than the average man possesses. They report, for example, that many people are ignorant of the various Cabinet officers and their functions, of reciprocal trade treaties, of the Dies Committee, of the National Labor Relations Board, of the meaning of the phrase "balancing the budget." For instance, 52 per cent of a representative sample frankly admitted that they did not know what a reciprocal trade treaty is; 31 per cent gave incorrect definitions; 9 per cent doubtful ones; and only 8 per cent were able to define the term correctly, even though every doubt was resolved in favor of the respondents.

On the whole, the treatment of public issues in the Institute and *Fortune* polls has not been ideal from the point of view of asking clear and meaningful questions. In an effort to obtain newsworthy information the poll directors have shot at their testing staff the political questions of the moment. The testing staff frequently finds these questions are not intelligible to the man on the street. The result is some

⁴ D. Katz and H. Cantril, "Public Opinion Polls," *Sociometry*, 1937, 1, 155-179.

compromise either on issues or on wording which does not remove the basic difficulty in the type of question asked. This difficulty is the symbolization of issues in political or technical terms. There is a failure to grasp the point of view of the average citizen and to interpret the question as he would come to grips with it. The lack of knowledge of the American public about public affairs is not as anti-democratic in implication as it may appear at first glance. The man on the street may be able to give meaningful answers to important questions if they are stated for him in his own language and in terms of his own thinking rather than in terms of the mental world of the politician and journalist.

Poll questions have suffered, too, from their remoteness from the individual's life and so have failed to meet the criterion of conviction. In other words, on many of the issues which the polls have sampled people have not held strong attitudes. For example, after the first few months of the present war American participation seems to the average man to be fairly remote and consequently his answer to the Gallup question about our entering the war may not reflect a stable attitude. Since it is a remote issue he does not hold the opinion strongly and his opinion may change quickly under the impact of objective events. Evidence of the unreality to the American people of American participation in the war is furnished in a study by the Princeton Public Opinion Research Project which shows that people in families con-

taining members of draft age are no more opposed to our participation than people less personally affected.⁵

Non-Crystallized Public Opinion

A genuine source of error in interpreting the poll returns on public questions, then, is the assumption of a crystallized public opinion when none in fact exists. To have some measure of this factor the polls have been reporting the number of people who say they have no opinion on the issue in question. Yet this report is not wholly satisfactory because it remains to be established that the no-opinion vote is a valuable measure of the degree to which opinion on a measure has crystallized.

Moreover, even the amount of the no-opinion vote is lost sight of in the newspaper account of the Gallup release. This misinterpretation is due in part to the fact that Gallup discards the no-opinion answers before computing the percentage of people answering "yes" or "no." The percentage of affirmative replies reported is not a proportion of the total sample but of the total number of people who have opinions.

An instance of how this leads to false inferences appeared in the impression created in January 1939 that the American people were overwhelmingly in favor of the Dies Committee and the continuation of its activities. At that time Gallup asked: "Have you heard or read about the Dies Committee for investigating un-American activities?" Thirty-nine per cent said they had never heard of it. Those who had heard of it were

⁵ See page 327.

then asked: "Do you think its findings have been important enough so that the investigations should be continued?" Twenty-two per cent had no opinion. Of those who had an opinion 74 per cent were in favor of continuing the committee and 26 per cent were opposed. The inference drawn by many people, however, was that three-fourths of the American public wanted the committee maintained.⁶ As a matter of fact only 34 per cent of the group sampled were favorably disposed toward the Dies Committee and 66 per cent had either never heard of it, had no opinion, or were opposed to it. Now the American Institute is technically not at fault in that its releases contain all of the above information, but its method of expressing percentages is open to criticism since its releases are intended for popular consumption and not for scientific journals.

The Filtering Question

In addition to the no-opinion device, the American Institute of Public Opinion has employed the "filtering question" to rule out meaningless answers and to detect the degree to which opinion has crystallized. The filtering question asks the respondent if he has heard or is acquainted with the terms in the main question. If he has not, his opinion is not requested on the issue, but a count is made of respondents like himself who have little knowledge of the issue. In the questions on the Dies Committee the opening inquiry about having read or heard about the committee constituted a "filtering question."

Still another way of discovering the crystallization of public opinion is the scale technique employed by the *Fortune* surveys. The scale technique admits of shades of opinion instead of the yes-no dichotomy of the Gallup poll. With a scale technique the type of distribution of opinion furnishes some insight into the degree of superficiality of the answers of respondents. When people are convinced of the correctness of their views the distribution of opinion is generally not a normal one. It is either U-shaped or badly skewed to one side or other. The U-shaped curve indicates that people fall into opposed camps and the skewed curve that a majority agree in taking a decided stand.

Personal and Public Issues

The major difficulty of the polls has been their inability to distinguish between problems which the respondent regards as his own and problems which he regards as public issues. Part of the difficulty is inherent in the nature of the situation. A question of public policy may often involve the individual in a direct personal manner, but if it has not been personalized for him in advance he will conceive of it as concerning that impersonal social structure called "Government" and as having no close interest for him. For example, Gallup has asked: "Do you think every labor union should be required to take out a license (per-

⁶ Britt and Menefee suggest that this was the inference drawn by many Congressmen. Cf. S. H. Britt and S. C. Menefee, *PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY*, 1939, 3, 449-457.

mit) from the United States government?" and the *Fortune* survey has inquired: "Should the U.S. try to develop its own industries to the point where it does not have to buy any products from foreign countries?" Until the implications of these questions are made personal and explicit to people, many of them will have no real conviction in their answers. On the other hand, a question which might seem on the surface as purely personal may (because of the individual's awareness that others think as he does) be considered by the respondent as the government's business as well as his own.

The trouble has been that the polls have often assumed that because a problem is of practical importance or of political interest, therefore there is a public opinion on the problem which can be measured. This assumption is based upon a misunderstanding of the nature of public opinion. Public opinion does not automatically arise because there is a problem, present or potential, for the nation or some considerable portion of it. It is true that a few generations ago this was actually the case for the community in rural America. Then, if a problem arose, it implied an objective situation confronting all members of the community and a public opinion soon developed. But today when people live in large groups, the presence of a problem is often not accompanied by a series of objective events which involve considerable numbers of people in a direct manner. People are not often compelled by the external situation to take a stand upon the problem.

They may admit when the question arises that it is a problem for the impersonal agency of government but they do not feel it as their own problem. To make them take a stand on an issue (and, of course, the right stand) we have developed, to an elaborate extent, techniques of molding opinion through the media of mass impression manipulated by pressure groups.

Modern Public Opinion

Modern public opinion is thus of two types: common attitudes aroused by the impact of an objective event, sufficiently broad to affect in a direct manner large numbers within the population (for example a depression); or common attitudes aroused by the pressure of an intensive propaganda campaign. The first type of opinion is like the old type of community opinion but in our day and age it is much less common than opinion created by agencies of symbol manipulation. The inference is clear that when the polls ask questions about issues which have not been brought home to the people, either through events affecting them or propaganda enlisting their support, the results can not be interpreted as indicative of public opinion.

A few examples of such poll questions follow: "Do you think the Federal government should give money to states to help local schools?" "Should state governments transfer more of their powers to the Federal government?" "Should legal picketing be limited to one or two pickets, or should the number be un-

limited?" "Should the government appropriate money to build a new U.S. merchant fleet?" "Do you think the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward the electric power companies has been too severe?" "Would you favor having Congress set aside six million dollars each for the Republican and Democratic parties once every four years, so that the parties would not have to collect campaign funds from individuals and corporations, in return for which they would sometimes be expected to give favors?"

To these and similar questions might be added the polling for presidential nominees long before the state primaries were under way, when many of the names of the candidates meant little as symbols of policy, program or personality type. The objection is not to the use of questions on which there is no crystallized public opinion but to the interpretation placed upon the answers to these questions as representing the public opinion of the nation.

That the man on the street is not altogether unaware of this situation appears in the results of the polls themselves. The great majority of the American people are opposed to our entrance into the European War. Yet, when Gallup asked in September 1939 if we are going to be drawn into the war, 56 per cent of those who had an opinion answered in the affirmative. Now there is a real contradiction here, for it is as if people said, "No, we don't want war but public opinion is for it." What may really be involved is the tacit recognition by people that they will go

along with their fellows and conform when the propaganda agencies go to work. This is not so much to say that any public opinion can be foisted on the people from above, as it is to emphasize that people tend to fall in line rather than take the chance of being black-listed as non-conformers.

Polls and Social Science

Granted, however, that the polls give reliable reports of crystallized public opinion on certain issues, the social scientist may still be critical of the significance of these findings for his science. Have the most significant questions been asked to describe the public mind? Has an issue been thoroughly explored in all of its psychological implications with a battery of related questions? On studies of trends in opinion have the proper precautions been taken to hold constant the questioning process, the questions asked and the samples taken? Do other measures exist such as an index of propaganda to which opinion trends can be related?

These and similar questions can well be raised by the student of social science. Categorical answers are not so easily supplied. The limitations of the polls as commercial agencies dependent for their very life upon the news value of their results must be recognized. Straw votes in an election campaign are news but the thorough exploration of attitudes on many important questions may often be regarded as dull by the copy desk. This is the point at which the Gallup and *Fortune* polls depart most widely from traditional atti-

tudinal studies in social science. The social scientist sets up his survey as an experiment to test a hypothesis or to gather data in so comprehensive a fashion that it will furnish hypotheses. In the polls taken by the American Institute many unrelated questions are asked and they are not devised to test hypotheses and advance the science of public opinion. The *Fortune* surveys, however, are now being more thorough in their exploration of issues and are devoting a complete ballot to a series of questions on the same problem. Their satisfaction with this procedure promises to result in deeper and more consistent probing. The American Institute is also likely to move in this direction in the future.

It should be remembered that an instrument must be evaluated with reference to other available devices. And from this point of view the polls of public opinion immediately take on stature. Our other sources for this type of information on the whole have been and are meager as compared with the polls. Most psychological investigations of attitudes have been based not upon a random sample of the population but upon a sample of the universe of college sophomores. Federal and state censuses of the population, of unemployment, etc., have concentrated upon objective information and have neglected the psychological aspects of human beings. The historian and

the sociologist have often had to be content with studies which deal with secondary sources of data. They consult newspaper files, the popular songs of the period, the best sellers of the day, to get at what the polls will give the future historian more directly.

Evaluation

In fine, public opinion polls should be evaluated in a discriminating fashion. They are not going to revolutionize social science, but neither will they be negligible instruments for social science. It is common to reject a method because it does not give us all the answers. There has hardly been a mathematical tool or a methodological instrument devised for social and psychological research which has not drawn criticism because it could not give the whole story. It is similar with the polls. They have definite limitations but they are still a valuable asset to the student of society. They are not adequate to explore all the problems in public opinion and social psychology. No single instrument is. They are most adequate in measuring affect toward social symbols and they have made their greatest contribution in this field. In the area of opinions and attitudes they are decidedly useful, but here they must be interpreted with the greatest caution and supplemented wherever possible by other methods.

COMMUNICATIONS

This selective survey endeavors to summarize leading events, situations, and research in the various fields of communications that particularly concern problems of public opinion formation and of control, freedom and censorship. The period covered extends from January through March 1940.

1. Press, Radio, Films

International Communications

THE SITUATION in respect to international communications has remained basically the same as that reported in last quarter's Communications Survey (see the March 1940 issue of the *QUARTERLY*, pp. 136 ff.). Of special interest during the first three months of 1940 have been reorganizations in the British and French ministries of information; intensification of radio propaganda and promotion by the European belligerents; efforts to strengthen the communications position of the United States and to regulate broadcasting in North America by international agreement; and the effective use of radiotelegraph and radiotelephone for the transmission of news.

Ministries of Information

The British and French ministries of information, both of which have been under fire since the beginning

of the war for slowness, lack of co-ordinated effort, ineptitude, and an excess of zeal in censorship, have experienced important changes in personnel during the quarter. In January, Lord Macmillan was succeeded as head of the British Ministry of Information by Sir John Reith, former director of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Lord Macmillan had been Minister since September 1939.

In the Press and Censorship Bureau, Sir Walter Monckton has been succeeded by C. J. Radcliffe as Director-General. Vice-Admiral C. V. Osborne has resigned as Director of the Censorship Division, and J. H. Brebner has been appointed Director of the News Division.

The Ministry of Information and the Press and Censorship Bureau are technically separate units. Broadly, the Ministry of Information is in

charge of the propaganda effort at home and abroad, while the Press and Censorship Bureau handles censorship. The Bureau has so far avoided political censorship, endeavoring to confine its censoring activities to matters of military value. Much of the criticism of the British public relations program has been attributed to the lack of efficient coordination among the many governmental units engaged in similar activity. Each of the other ministries of the British government maintains its own press staff, and the service ministries and Foreign Office have been particularly energetic in censorship. Centralization of the Ministry of Information and the Press and Censorship Bureau was tried during the Macmillan régime, but abandoned. Recent personnel changes apparently were made at least in part to obtain greater unofficial coordination between the two propaganda and censorship agencies, and a formal merging of the two agencies is predicted.*

Advertising and Posters

An example of centralization that also endeavors to preserve the framework of normal, peace-time, commercial organization is the manner in which the British conduct the advertising and poster campaigns of the various departments of the British government in connection with the war effort. Within the last few months these campaigns have come to be largely centralized in the Ministry of Information. In general, however, the Ministry does not endeavor to produce the advertising

itself, and has no production staff comparable, for example, with that of the Creel Committee in the United States during the World War. An advisory committee has been appointed to advise the Ministry on the choice of established commercial advertising agencies to prepare the campaigns. This committee, of which Lt. Col. N. G. Scorgie, Deputy Controller of the H. M. Stationery Office, is chairman, includes persons prominent in the advertising field.

Current or recently completed campaigns, with the governmental departments which inaugurated them, include: *National Savings and War Loan*, for the Treasury; *Steel Scrap Salvage*, for the Minister of Supply; *Rationing and Food Economy*, for the Ministry of Food; *Plough the Land*, for the Ministry of Agriculture; *Evacuation*, for the Ministry of Health; and *Road Safety*, for the Ministry of Transport. The Ministry of Information launched the *Anti-Gossip* poster campaign in February on its own account. The Ministry announced that approximately 2,000,000 free poster sites had been obtained through the cooperation of local government officials, and that the first poster print order was for 2,500,000 copies. Distinctive posters were prepared for England and Wales, with the Welsh language used for the latter.

*Absorption of the Press and Censorship Bureau by the Ministry of Information was announced late in April. Alfred Duff Cooper was named Minister of Information in mid-May, following Winston Churchill's appointment as Prime Minister.

France

In France, Louis-Oscar Frossard was appointed Minister of Information and Propaganda in the new Reynaud cabinet, formed in March. Jean Giraudoux has been retained by the new Minister as head of the Superior Information Council.

Propaganda Broadcasts

A promise of an intensification of the Allied propaganda effort through broadcasting, especially to neutrals, as a means of combatting vigorous radio promotion by the Germans, is one of the results of changes in the ministries of information and the cabinet reorganizations of March in England and France. Increases in power of European transmitters and improvements in directional effectiveness have been noted during the quarter.

An illuminating description and analysis of talks and other features broadcast in English by shortwave from Berlin, Paris, London and Rome is contained in Report No. 5 of the Princeton Listening Center, covering the period from February 1 to 15. The Center found that Berlin broadcasts in its North American service 63 news programs and 49 other spoken-word features a week; London 35 news programs and 9 talks; Paris approximately 35 news programs, 28 press reviews, and 15 talks; and Rome 14 news programs and a few talks, mainly non-political. Talks from Berlin were found to be generally briefer than those from London, with greater use made of brief dialogue skits with fictitious

characters. Berlin also appeals to a greater number of age, sex, and special interest groups than either London or Paris. "Paris programs," the report concludes, "appear to aim at listeners of a high intellectual level, London programs at a medium, and Berlin programs at high, middle and low, with particular attention to American audiences."

The report also includes summary descriptions of typical talk-features broadcast from London and Berlin, and a complete transcription of a German topical talk, "Good Neighbors," which endeavors to persuade American listeners that the real reason for the current development of military aviation in Canada is to provide England with a means for making a sudden aerial attack on the defenseless cities of the United States.

The propaganda battle between German and British radio stations was continued with zeal during the quarter. An anti-British broadcasting station was reported to be operating illegally in England, recalling the so-called "Freedom" station reported to be operating illegally in Germany. American radio engineers suspect that these stations actually operate in enemy territory, as the accuracy of direction finders makes it extremely doubtful that illegal stations could escape swift detection. "Lord Haw-Haw," the announcer with the Oxford accent at the Hamburg station, has been identified by the British as William Joyce, an American-born Anglo-Irishman who was formerly active with British Fascist groups.

International Telegraph Merger

Changing competitive conditions in international communication and the threat of wartime interference with international networks are reflected in a report made by the Federal Communications Commission to the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee in February urging a merger of American cable and radiotelegraph companies. A majority of the Commission cited the following main reasons for a merger:

1. Cable carriers are in an unfavorable economic position compared with radiotelegraph carriers, whose business has increased rapidly in recent years and now constitutes about 30 per cent of the traffic between the United States and foreign countries. Airmail has also become a cable competitor. The increasing importance of radiotelephony as a competitor is described in the section below.

2. Cables are nevertheless a valuable alternate service that should be protected against destructive economic competition. Comparing the vulnerability of cable and radiotelegraph to outside interference, the report points out that radiotelegraph may be easily "jammed" and is readily susceptible to espionage. Cables are therefore important from the standpoint of national defense.

3. Competition between American carriers places them in a weak bargaining position with foreign communication monopolies. The report cites a number of instances when foreign monopolies succeeded in obtaining contracts unfavorable to American interests by playing one

American company against another.

A minority report held that competition will produce cheaper rates and better service and is itself a natural regulator.

Radiotelephone and Telegraph

War in Europe has shown the usefulness of the radiotelephone, a relatively recent means of international communication, especially to individual newspapers having their own foreign staffs and fixed deadlines. The *New York Herald Tribune*, for example, which has pioneered in the use of radiotelephone, receives nearly all news from its foreign bureaus through this channel.

Advantages of radiotelephony over cable transmission are (1) mobility, (2) cheapness, (3) assurance at both ends of the two-way circuit that the message has been received. The client either enters into a contract with the A.T. & T. for a fixed period of time daily (usually at night, when the rate is cheaper) or puts in a call for the correspondent abroad when news developments require. On calls to Western Europe, the cost per word (omitting the investment in receiving equipment and the salaries of receiving personnel) is less than half as much as for cable transmission.

Mobility is assured by the fact that virtually all European communities, large and small, are connected with national telephone systems. The telephone was particularly useful in the coverage of the Finnish-Russian war, as it was possible to communicate directly with correspondents in towns or villages near the military sectors. Time was frequently saved by hav-

ing the dispatches approved by military censors on the spot instead of running the risk of delay in a censorship bottleneck at Helsinki. Most calls were routed by land telephone lines via Stockholm or Copenhagen to Amsterdam for transmission to New York by radiotelephone.

Assurance that the message has been received as sent is of great psychological importance to the correspondent. While correspondents ordinarily dare not depart from the wording of scripts approved by censors (they may be cut off by listening officials, disciplined, or expelled if they try), a word of acknowledgment from the home office relieves the correspondent of anxiety often felt when he gives a dispatch to a foreign official in a cable or radiotelegraph office. He knows that his message will not be delayed, garbled or lost, as sometimes happens when other channels are used. The recording of the correspondent's words on records in the home office minimizes inaccuracy and makes possible subsequent verifications.

Radiotelephony is less advantageous to press associations, which require immediate transmission facilities at all hours of the day and night. Special contractual arrangements with cable and radiotelegraph companies have been made by the large agencies to handle the greater bulk of news which they service.

An extension of the use of radiotelegraph has been inaugurated by the *Chicago Daily News* foreign service, effective March 1. Messages received from Europe via Press Wireless, Inc., a radiotelegraph transmis-

sion company, will now be rebroadcast by shortwave radio to west coast clients of the news service instead of being relayed by land telegraph. The new system will reduce transmission costs from New York.

Havana Broadcasting Treaty

Ratification of the North American Broadcasting Agreement was completed on March 29 when the government of Mexico, the last country to ratify, formally notified the Cuban government of its adherence. Signed at the conclusion of the First Inter-American Radio Conference at Havana, Cuba, on December 13, 1937, the Agreement allocates channels in the 550 to 1600 kilocycle spectrum to Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, Newfoundland and the United States for the purpose of eliminating interference in broadcasting in the North American area. Ratification by Canada, Cuba, Mexico and the United States was necessary to make the Agreement effective.

While the specific allocations and regulations are too numerous to summarize here, an indication of the general nature of the Agreement may be gained from the fact that Canada receives six clear channel positions for stations with 50,000 watts power or more; Mexico, six; Cuba, one; and the United States at least twenty-five. In clear channels for stations with less than 50,000 watts, the United States will have accommodations for 63 stations; Mexico, 15; Canada, 14; Cuba, 5; Newfoundland, Dominican Republic and Haiti, 1 each.

One expected effect of the Agreement is the elimination of interference from the powerful stations in Mexico along the United States border operated by Dr. John R. Brinkley, Norman T. Baker and others who direct their programs and salesmanship to American rather than Mexican listeners. Previous efforts of the United States to reach an agreement with the Mexican government for the elimination of interference from these so-called "outlaw" stations have failed. The Havana agreement specifically assigns clear channels of high power to populous centers in the interior of Mexico and specifies that broadcasting allocations assigned to countries shall serve their own nationals rather than citizens of other nations.

Since many changes in frequency assignments must be made in the United States to conform with the terms of the Agreement, the FCC has ordered that licenses of all standard broadcast stations in this country shall expire on August 1, 1940. By that time it is expected that new allocations will have been worked out. The new allocations are to be put into effective operation one year after ratification of the Agreement.

The Agreement also provides for the creation of an Inter-American Radio Office (O.I.R.) for the exchange of technical information, allocation of frequencies outside the broadcast band, and similar matters.

Wartime Songs

An interesting study might be made of current popular songs in the

belligerent nations of Europe from the standpoints of symbol use and the effectiveness of the song in communicating useful attitudes and bolstering civilian and soldier morale. Apparently no songs have appeared since the outbreak of the war as infectious as songs of the first World War period like "It's a Long Way to Tipperary," "Pack Up Your Troubles," "Keep the Home Fires Burning," "Madelon," or "Mademoiselle from Armentieres." Topical and symbol influences are shown, however, in the following list of titles of recent English popular songs: "Somewhere in France With You"; "Oh! Ain't It Grand to Be in the Navy!"; "The R.A.F. Patrol"; "They Can't Black-Out the Moon"; "Good Luck, Until We Meet Again"; "Please Leave My Butter Alone"; "Kiss Me Goodnight, Sergeant Major"; "Goodnight" (Got Your Torchlight?); "We're On Our Way"; "If a Grey-Haired Lady Says 'How's Yer Father?' (that's Mademoiselle from Armentieres)"; "Follow the White Line"; "Somewhere at Sea"; "Till the Lights of London Shine Again"; "Wings Over the Navy"; "I'll Pray for You"; "There'll Always Be an England"; "Mademoiselle of the Maginot Line"; "Berlin or Bust"; "I'm Sending You the Siegfried Line"; "The Girl Who Loves a Soldier"; "Bon Voyage, Cherie"; "We're Gonna Hang Out the Washing on the Siegfried Line"; "The Black-Out Stroll"; and "Wish Me Luck." The title of a current French hit is translated as "Boom! (Why does my heart go Boom?)."

Press

TWO STATISTICAL annuals published in January supply data on the number and circulation of newspapers in the United States. Below are statistical comparisons for the years 1939, 1938, and 1929 which show a continuing downward trend in the number of dailies published over the one-year and ten-year periods and a slight increase in circulation over the same intervals.

According to the 1940 International Yearbook Number of *Editor & Publisher*, 1,888 daily and 524 Sunday newspapers were being published on Oct. 1, 1939, compared with 1,936 daily and 523 Sunday newspapers for Oct. 1, 1938, a net loss of 47. Previously *Editor & Publisher* computed that 51 daily newspapers suspended publication during the year 1939. On Oct. 1, 1929, 1,944 daily and 528 Sunday newspapers were being published.

N. W. Ayer & Son's *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* listed 2,015 dailies as being published at the end of 1939, compared with 2,056 at the end of 1938, a loss of 41. The discrepancy between the figures of the two compilers arises largely from different methods of classification; *Editor & Publisher* counts only English language daily newspapers of general circulation whereas the Ayer Annual includes foreign language, trade, and other types of daily publications.

Ayer's reports 10,860 weeklies, 368 semi-weeklies and 38 tri-weeklies at the end of 1939 compared respectively with 10,728 weeklies, 357

semi-weeklies and 54 tri-weeklies at the end of 1938, a net increase of 127 in the three classifications.

Editor & Publisher reports a combined daily circulation of 39,770,682 in 1939 and 31,519,009 Sunday compared with 39,571,839 daily and 30,480,922 Sunday in 1938, a net increase of 98,843 daily and 1,038,087 Sunday. Daily circulation in 1929 was 39,425,615 and Sunday circulation 26,879,536, a net increase for the ten-year period of 245,067 daily and 4,639, 473 Sunday. Ayer circulation figures for the dailies which are included in its computation show a net daily circulation loss for the same decade of 4,675,712.

Offset Newspapers

Two daily newspapers printed by the photo-offset (lithographic) process have recently made their appearance. In Opelousas, La., a town of 6,299 population, the *Daily World*, of which James R. Fitzgibbon is publisher, began publication on Dec. 24. The *Daily World* is an eight-page, tabloid size newspaper containing many pictures.

More radical in format, organization and style is the Hartford, Conn., *Newsdaily*, the first issue of which appeared on March 4. The *Newsdaily* is a sixteen-page, tabloid size, departmentalized newspaper with a modern typographical dress. Many photographs are used. A novelty is the absence of datelines and credits on news pictures and articles, although lines at the bottom of the front page give a general credit to Transradio Press Service and N.Y. Times Wide World Wired Photos.

An article in the first number states that whereas usual U.S. newspaper policy is to fill as much as 60 per cent of the paper with advertising, "*Newsdaily* editors determined to limit advertising to 25 per cent of space." The paper sells for 5 cents a copy. Bice Clemow, former news editor of *Editor & Publisher*, is president of the publishing company.

Offset printing has been suggested as one way of avoiding as heavy a financial investment in machinery and equipment as is necessary for ordinary letter press and stereotype printing, as well as a means of reducing production costs at a time when newspaper enterprise is restricted by a fixed or declining income from the sale of advertising. In theory, offset is particularly advantageous for a beginning newspaper that wishes to exploit the current interest in photographic illustration. Photographs and type matter are simply pasted on a board, photographed, and the negative transferred to a zinc plate. A newer process used by the *Newsdaily* makes it possible to transfer transparent type proofs directly, eliminating camera-copying of type matter. Both systems avoid the usual processes of engraving, form make-up, and stereotyping.

Actually there is some dispute over the amount of saving, as the offset newspapers now in operation require typesetting machines and presses, just as any other newspaper, in addition to extra photographic equipment. The *Daily World* has announced that operating costs are not more than 10 per cent lower than standard

printing, but that the total saving if the smaller original investment is included may be about 15 per cent. The *Newsdaily* estimates that lithography reduced capital investment by 50 per cent and operating costs by 20 per cent. Regardless of the accuracy of these early estimates, very substantial saving could be made if a composing typewriter could be used that would eliminate the necessity for typesetting machines. With such a self-justifying typewriter, matter could be taken directly from the typewriter, pasted up with pictures, and the entire page photographed.

Popular acceptance of offset newspapers might bring a significant change to the competitive situation in the newspaper field, making it financially feasible for small, lively, picture papers to compete with heavy-investment dailies in stationary or shrinking newspaper markets. The Hartford *Newsdaily* makes a virtue of what may be an economic necessity by stating in its first issue that the major decision of the editors "was to publish a newspaper for readers first and for advertisers second, to depend on circulation for operating profit as the best insurance against loss of editorial freedom."

Radio

DEVELOPMENTS of public opinion significance in radio broadcasting during the quarter fall into two main categories: first, those having to do with questions of regulation and use of technological novelties; and, second, those affecting the economic freedom of broadcasting under the

American system. Of increasing interest also is the question of the utilization of radio broadcasting in the forthcoming 1940 national, state, and local election campaigns. The presidential campaign will be the first since the adoption of the Code of the National Association of Broadcasters¹ and the issuance of the order of the FCC on Political Broadcasts, dated July 1, 1938. A Code Manual was issued by the NAB Code Compliance Committee during the quarter to guide station members in the handling of controversial public issues and other types of broadcasts regulated by the Code.

Television Controversy

A conflict between the FCC and the Radio Corporation of America over the utilization of television developed during the quarter. On Feb. 29, the FCC adopted rules that permitted (beginning Sept. 1) limited commercial operations with advertising in connection with programs the cost of which is borne by sponsors. In issuing these rules, the Commission declined to crystallize the allocation of frequencies or transmission standards on the grounds that television would probably continue to make technical advances and that nothing should be done to "freeze" television in its present state of development. The Commission also urged that nothing be done "which will encourage a large public investment in receivers which, by reason of technical advances when ultimately introduced, may become obsolete in a relatively short time."

Beginning in mid-March, RCA be-

gan an advertising and marketing campaign which included advertisements in New York newspapers announcing reductions of approximately one-third in the price of television receiving sets. RCA, which up to this spring has sold fewer than 1,000 sets in the New York area, announced a sales goal of 25,000 sets for the next year.

The FCC Steps In

On March 22, while the RCA selling campaign was in progress, the FCC issued an order questioning the wisdom of RCA advertising, suspending the rules of Feb. 29 permitting limited commercial television, and calling a hearing for April 8 to investigate the effect of the RCA campaign and to decide whether commercial television should be permitted to begin on Sept. 1 or on some later date. The criticism of the FCC for this action by radio interests, newspaper writers, and others was answered by James Lawrence Fly, FCC chairman, in an address delivered over the MBS and NBC (Red) networks on Tuesday night, April 2.

In brief, Chairman Fly's contentions are based upon the obligation of the FCC, under the authority delegated to it by Congress, to protect the public interest and convenience. He holds: (1) that while the pioneers in television are entitled to recoup their investment, premature purchase in a rapidly advancing field may cause losses that would exceed many times the cost of research; (2) that tele-

¹ PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 683 ff.

vision differs from motion pictures and automobiles, which developed largely through free competition, by virtue of the fact that motion pictures and automobiles developed slowly and have not changed in basic principle, whereas in television the receiving set is "the key which unlocks the transmitter in order to receive the broadcast" and a "substantial change in the lock renders the key useless"; (3) that present television broadcasting service is too limited to justify large public investment in receiving sets; (4) that the FCC doesn't wish to discourage the public from purchasing receiving sets, but objects to extravagant promotion of sales without informing the public of the limited and experimental character of the service now available and of the possibility of swift obsolescence.

Leading arguments against interference by the FCC in the promotion of the sale of sets include: (1) the Commission exceeded its powers in attempting to regulate merchandising and advertising; (2) infant industries can develop only through free competition and by allowing the public to share developmental costs by buying goods and services; (3) entrepreneurs who sink money into expensive research and experimentation to develop a new industry should be allowed to recoup their losses; (4) the FCC action is an indication of a tendency toward federal "crack-down" and regulatory policies that may end in complete federal domination or ownership of broadcasting.²

The dispute is of particular interest because whereas the control of the

development of new inventions by business is a commonplace, television offers one of the first important instances where the government is able to exercise a considerable amount of control over the development of invention for public rather than private benefit. It is also of interest to note that a considerable number of newspapers severely criticized the FCC for bureaucratic meddling with an infant industry. The press continues to be sensitive to incidents that publicize the restraints laid upon a competitive medium; in this instance radio is also a potential advertiser. Also germane to the present dispute over television is the fact that the pre-occupation of European nations with the war has given the United States a position of unquestioned leadership in the development of this type of service. The situation resembles the one that obtained during the period of the first World War when the United States was able to secure leadership in the development of radio and the motion picture. England abandoned television several months ago in connection with a general contraction of broadcasting services. Germany has announced that television development is continuing, but little information on its present status is available.

Frequency Modulation

The frequency modulation system of broadcasting³ was the subject of

² For an extended discussion of the problems connected with television, see *PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 547 ff.

³ *PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY*, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 145.

a hearing before the FCC from March 18 to 28. The testimony was of interest not only from the standpoint of technical and economic problems involved in a shift from amplitude to frequency modulation systems but also for the insight it gave into the way in which various broadcasting, patent, newspaper, merchandising, and educational interests now appear to be hastening to obtain favorable positions in the FM field. While the Commission has so far issued no conclusions or orders on the basis of testimony received, it has recently shown an increasing interest in the development of FM. The FCC has licensed 16 FM stations and authorized the construction of 6 more. Approximately 100 applications for FM stations are pending.

Princeton Radio Project

Upon the expiration of its grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Princeton Radio Research Project, which for two years has investigated the effects of radio on American life, terminated its existence. Some of its reports are now available and others will be published in the near future. Coincident with the termination of the Princeton Project, Columbia University received a grant from the Foundation for a study of factors influencing changes of opinion during the forthcoming presidential campaign, to be conducted by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, director of the Princeton Project, and staff. An advisory board has been created consisting of Robert S. Lynd, Lyman Bryson and H. S. Brucker of Columbia Univer-

sity, and Frank N. Stanton, director of market research for CBS.

O. W. RIEGEL

Washington and Lee University

Motion Pictures

Gone With the Wind

SHATTERING all previous financial records, *Gone With the Wind* has already upset enough tacit assumptions of the film industry to mark it as one of the turning points in the history of the movies. In the face of the long-time belief that four or five million dollars was the maximum possible gross even the most ornate Hollywood film could draw, *Gone With the Wind* had already grossed \$17,000,000 as of April first—despite the fact that it had played only since December and had not as yet been shown abroad. The greatest money-maker of all time, it has already outstripped the previous record of \$16,000,000, the total gross claimed for *The Birth of a Nation* from the time it was made to the present. Published production cost of G.W.T.W. is \$3,957,000.

Much of the picture's gigantic revenue can be explained by unusually high admission charges (regular evening price, \$1.10; matinee price, 75 cents). These brought the average paid admission up to 85 cents, compared with an industry average of approximately 22½ cents. (For *Snow White* Walt Disney was able to raise this average only to 35 cents.)

Possible effects of its success are difficult to estimate. For example, does it mean that increasing industry

effort will go into the making of colossals; that small film companies, unable to compete, will increasingly disappear; that film admission charges will tend to rise, so that people will go to the movies less often; or that the length of films will be increased? Or will the industry view the success of *Gone With the Wind* as due to exceptional circumstances, difficult to repeat?

British Film Director-General

Amidst wails from the film makers of Wardour Street, Sir Kenneth Clark, K.C.B., was recently appointed Director-General of the Film Division of the British Ministry of Information. Ever since the war began there had been grumblings about the way the Ministry handled films. With the shake-up in the Ministry and the appointment of Sir John Reith, the industry looked forward to seeing one of its own men put in charge of films. Hence the objections to the appointment of the Knight of the Bath.

Sir Kenneth has established a reputation during the last decade as one of England's bright young men. Youngest man ever to be appointed Director of the National Gallery (at the age of 31), the Gallery took on new life during his régime, which is generally considered to have been energetic and most successful.

U.S. Film Service

March marked the beginning of a violent controversy over the U.S. Film Service's latest documentary, *Fight for Life*. It also witnessed the action of the House Appropriations Committee in striking out the Federal Security Agency's request for funds to continue the Service on a permanent basis, on the ground that no existing law authorized such an appropriation. The \$106,400 requested was not for production expenditures, but to cover overhead costs of a permanent organization, thus bringing a film distribution program within the Government's regular appropriations framework.

The Film Service item may come before Congress again, later in the session, through the Emergency Relief Appropriation bill. Congress may then decide whether it wants a permanent film unit or the scattered hit-or-miss arrangement in which many departments have their own units.

Demise

Film Audiences for Democracy, a national membership organization and publisher of the magazine, *Film Survey*, has officially terminated its existence, owing, it is reported, to lack of financial support.

JOHN DEVINE

The American Film Center

2. Control: Freedom and Censorship

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES CONTEMPT CASE

THE *Los Angeles Times* contempt case, which has recently been filed for review before the U.S. Supreme Court, is of commanding interest to anyone concerned with legal adjudication or civil liberties. This case will force our highest tribunal to choose between two American rights that have heretofore been considered equally basic; the court by direct decision, or by refusing to rehear the California decision, must indicate whether it believes "freedom of the press" subordinate to "independence of the judiciary" or vice versa.

The case began in July 1938 when contempt citations were brought in the name of the Los Angeles Bar Association against the *Los Angeles Times*, a daily newspaper, based on five editorials commenting upon local court cases in the process of trial, and two additional editorials discussing the action of the Bar Association in starting contempt proceedings. Four out of the five editorials were charged "in contempt" because they were published after jury verdicts had been returned and before the judge's final disposition of the cases by sentence or otherwise. The idea seems to be that such editorial comment is calculated to sway the judge, one way or the other, so that final disposition of the case might be dif-

ferent from that dictated by its own intrinsic merits. The fifth editorial involved the celebrated Jackie Coogan case, which had not yet reached the trial stage, but expressed the opinion that "Jackie Coogan is entitled to a share in his earnings." The Bar Association charged all of these editorials to be "judicial pressure" intended to influence the court in each instance.

Attorneys for the Bar Association fear "that the courts will be ruled by public clamor because the newspapers are seeking to establish a doctrine which will give them unlimited license in commenting upon pending cases." With such extreme freedom, they fear, cases will be determined according to what the judge believes to be the most powerful, prevailing, and popular view of the case, and the one which the judge believes most likely to advance his own political fortunes. If such a situation is allowed to exist, the phrase "fair and impartial trial according to the law and evidence" becomes a sham and a mockery.

On the other hand, attorneys for the *Times* pointed out that, in determining contempt, a judge must be presumed to have average intelligence and integrity, in contrast to the assertion of the Bar Association that

if an editorial disturbs a "weak," "spineless," "politically minded," "pliable," or "inexperienced" judge, it must be contempt. Attorneys for the *Times* also urge the traditional arguments for the free interplay of thought and comment. They cite the well established, but little agreed upon, "clear and present danger" rule, i.e., that until there is an actual threat to the structure of government itself, freedom of expression cannot be artificially restrained. This rule, they say, applying to the whole government, must of necessity apply with equal force to a particular branch of the government, such as the courts. The *Times* contends that the editorials in question must be proved embarrassing or obstructive to the courts *in fact* rather than in possibility.

Guilty

As the case proceeded through the California courts, the *Times* was first adjudged guilty on five of the seven editorials by Judge Emmet C. Wilson, of Los Angeles County, who held, in part, "that contempt of court is committed when an article might have influenced a Judge or caused the Judge a doubt in his own mind as to whether he had been unconsciously swayed by it." On February 1, 1940, the California Supreme Court handed down a four to two decision upholding Judge Emmet Wilson on three counts. The three *Times* editorials found "in contempt" by the top California court were briefly as follows:

(1) *Sit Down Strikers Convicted*, Dec. 21, 1937. The editorial congratulated the jury in finding Doug-

las Aircraft Company sit-down strikers guilty. It added that "the verdict means that davebeckism and johnlewisism will not get control here."

(2) *The Fall of an Ex-Queen*, April 14, 1938. This editorial analyzed the career of a local female ex-political boss who was currently being tried on criminal charges. It suggested that her difficulties were due to her desire to hang on to her political power too long. It wasn't the money so much as the influence. She liked being Queen.

(3) *Probation for Gorillas*, May 5, 1938. This editorial read in part, "Two Dave Beck boys were convicted of assaulting 'non-union' truck drivers and as first offenders have asked for probation. (They had fired steel missiles from slingshots.) The example of probation would be bad. Judge A. A. Scott will make a serious mistake if he grants probation to Matthew Shannon and Henan Holmes. This community needs the example of their assignment to the jute mill."

In each instance the *Times'* comment came just before the case had been completed, i.e., the "Douglas Sit Down" editorial was written one day before sentences were to be imposed upon the guilty men (sentences in which the judge had a great deal of discretion); the "Ex-Queen" editorial was written before sentence had been imposed and while motion for a new trial was pending; the "Probation" editorial was written before judgment had been passed and in straightforward language told the court it would be making a mistake to grant probation.

Rule of Law

The California Supreme Court found each of these cases "in contempt" by applying the test: "the publication is in contempt if it has a reasonable tendency to interfere with the orderly administration of justice which was the subject of the comment and which was then before the court for its consideration or decision." In reaching its decision the majority of the court declared unconstitutional that portion of subdivision 13 of Section 1209 of the California Code of Civil Procedure, which reads: "But no speech or publication reflecting upon or concerning any court or any officer thereof shall be treated or punished as a contempt of such court except as made in the immediate presence of such court while in session, and in such manner as to actually interfere with its proceedings."

Both dissenting justices based their opinion upon the fact that this legis-

lative enactment should be upheld. The legislature had spoken as to policy in view of a similar situation fifty years earlier [In re. Shortridge, 34 Pac. 227 (1893)]. Their view is that the power to punish for contempt is not inherent but is subject to legislative limitation.

Such, briefly, are the facts as the U.S. Supreme Court will be called upon to view them. Whether the Court will allow the test of "reasonable tendency to impede justice," or will require an actual "clear and present danger to judicial process," is the question. Whatever the answer, a sharp observer will shortly be able to distinguish, in the delicate adjustment of a balance between "freedom of the press" and "independence of the judiciary," which way the scales are weighted.

CHARLES K. FERGUSON
*University of California
at Los Angeles*

CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM LEGISLATION 1935-1939

CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM is usually defined as "the doctrine which advocates crime, violence, sabotage or other unlawful methods as a means of industrial or political reform." The typical statute then prohibits any person from (a) advocating or justifying any such doctrines, (b) printing or displaying any written matter doing the same, and (c) organizing, or being, or becoming a member of, any organization assembled to teach the prohibited doc-

trines. Two or more persons assembled to advocate or teach such doctrines become an unlawful assembly and participation therein or presence thereat is unlawful.

These laws constitute instruments of censorship and control. They make the *advocacy* of doctrines held undesirable a crime and not merely the criminal acts in which such advocacy is supposed to result. Actually, they add little to the normal criminal law except to prohibit the

expression of certain doctrines and opinions on the ground that they are dangerous or "subversive."

Opponents of criminal syndicalism statutes maintain that they unnecessarily restrict free speech and assembly and interfere with legitimate labor union activities. Experience in their enforcement shows that they are in fact used as weapons against individuals or groups holding unpopular opinions or opposing the existing order.¹

A survey of the efforts to enact, repeal, or amend these laws is really an account of a conflict over the use of legislative instruments of censorship and control. The present article outlines this conflict in the years 1935-1939.²

During this period criminal syndicalism laws were in force in twenty states and two territories,³ until the repeal of the Washington and Oregon acts in 1937 reduced this number by two. Only one bill to enact a new criminal syndicalism law was introduced during these years (Arizona, 1935) and it failed to pass. Seven unsuccessful bills in four states sought to amend existing acts to make them more stringent. Eight unsuccessful bills in four states attempted to amend the statutes to make them less severe. Twenty-two bills to repeal criminal syndicalism laws were presented in ten states but only two (Washington and Oregon) were passed. In seven states and two territories no repeal bills have ever been introduced. One bill to submit repeal of the Oregon criminal syndicalism laws to a popular referendum and another to petition the Gov-

ernor of California to pardon defendants convicted under the act failed to pass.

Interested Groups

In nearly every state where the issue was presented the line-up of forces was strikingly similar. On the side of those who have sponsored and defended criminal syndicalism laws are to be found patriotic societies, especially the American Legion; fraternal organizations like the Elks and Knights of Columbus; employers organizations such as manufacturers' associations, the Associated Farmers, chambers of commerce and merchants' associations; the more conservative labor leaders, along with such promotional groups as the Better America Federation, California Crusaders, tax payers associations, service groups; and, finally, conservative newspapers. Opposed to such legislation and leading the fight

¹ *The Operation of the Criminal Syndicalism and Sedition Laws with Arguments for their Repeal*, New York, American Civil Liberties Union, 1926. George W. Kirchwey, *A Survey of the Workings of the Criminal Syndicalism Law of California*, New York, American Civil Liberties Union, 1926. *De Jonge v. Oregon*, 299 U.S. 353 (1937).

² For an analysis of this legislation from 1917 through 1933 see Eldridge Foster Dowell, *A History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LVII, No. 1), Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939.

³ Alaska, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

for repeal are usually to be found organized labor, especially the A.F. of L. and the CIO, the Farmers' Union, left wing parties and organizations such as cooperatives, Socialists, Farmer Laborites, Communists, and in most cases middle-of-the-road liberals. Nearly everywhere the American Civil Liberties Union and its various branches have taken a leading part in opposition and have in many places received the support of organized teachers, liberal Democrats and in some cases liberal newspapers.

The history of the successful repeal efforts in Oregon and Washington indicates the exceptional circumstances which apparently must exist before criminal syndicalism laws can be removed from the statute books.

Oregon

The efforts to repeal the Oregon criminal syndicalism law began in 1930-1931 following the depression and the prosecutions arising from efforts of the Communist Party to organize the unemployed. In the "red hysteria" prevalent on the Pacific Coast after the San Francisco and longshoremen's strikes in 1934 a fresh wave of prosecutions occurred. One of these cases was carried to the United States Supreme Court, which early in January 1937 declared unconstitutional the Oregon act *as applied* in the case of Dirk De Jonge, Portland Communist leader.⁴

Three bills, to repeal the law, amend it, and to refer repeal to a referendum, were unsuccessful, despite an extensive and well organized campaign, because of the existing hysteria and because of the fact

that American Legion members were influential in the legislature.

In 1937 the usual groups and interests lined up for another repeal fight but two important factors had changed the situation. (1) The hysteria of 1934-1935 had subsided, organized labor was "riding high," and the 1938 reaction had not yet set in. (2) The De Jonge decision severely limited any sweeping application of the syndicalism law, constituted a severe rebuke to red-baiting vigilantism, and in the minds of many legislators, who had not read the opinion carefully, was more far reaching than was actually the case. The Senate Judiciary Committee, apparently strongly influenced by the Legion and patriotic-conservative groups, rejected outright repeal. After considerable delay and heavy, insistent pressure the committee reported a substitute bill which combined with repeal a mild, face-saving conspiracy statute. This measure passed the legislature with little delay and was signed by the governor in spite of his earlier stand against any change in the law.⁵

No one factor can explain the success of the repeal movement. Important items were: (1) a well organized campaign, backed by the conservative Portland *Oregonian*, and extending beyond the liberal-labor elements of the population into conservative circles; (2) farm-labor cooperation and the support of important farm groups; (3) the education

⁴ *De Jonge v. Oregon*, 299 U.S. 353 (1937).

⁵ The red flag and teachers' oath statutes are still in effect.

of the legislators and the public as to the harsh nature of the law because of its repressive use in 1930-1931 and 1934-1935 and by the discussion attending previous unsuccessful repeal efforts; (4) a relatively liberal legislature, as compared to other states, and a long progressive tradition in Oregon; and (5) the De Jonge decision coming at the right psychological moment and giving immense moral prestige to the proponents of repeal.

Washington

In Washington a repeal bill was overwhelmingly defeated in 1935 after a heated debate between "left-wingers" (radical, liberal, labor elements, etc.) and "extreme stand-patters." The successful repeal of the Washington criminal syndicalism law in 1937, in contrast to the 1935 failure, is explained not only by the absence of the post-strike tension of 1934-1935, the De Jonge decision and the labor-liberal strength in the legislature, but also by careful legislative strategy plus a fortunate political accident.

In his 1934 re-election campaign Governor Martin had promised to sign a repeal bill if passed by the legislature since, as he said, there were other laws to check radical activities.⁶ The Seattle Civil Liberties Committee had prepared a study of all cases arising under the criminal syndicalism law. On the basis of this study and their own unsatisfactory experiences with the statute, the Prosecuting Attorneys Association was induced to favor repeal. In the meantime the 1937 repeal bill was

introduced. A representative of the prosecuting attorneys endorsed the measure before the House Judiciary Committee, contending that the syndicalism law was (1) unnecessary, (2) subject to abuse and (3) made trouble for the prosecuting attorneys as persons constantly wanted them to make improper use of it. The committee, as a compromise, merely reported out the bill without recommendation.

Since 1932 the Washington Legislature had been fairly evenly divided between "left-wing radicals" and "right-wing stand-patters," with the latter usually in control by a small margin. Syndicalism repeal efforts in 1933 and 1935 had been waged by left-wingers with much sound and fury, but without results. Therefore the 1937 strategy required winning over the conservatives and keeping the left-wingers as quiet as possible. A mild conservative leader, Representative George F. Yantis, Speaker of the 1933 sessions, agreed to speak for repeal if only one left-winger and one extreme conservative should speak and "if the argument could be handled sanely." This was done. Yantis' talk won many conservative votes, and the bill passed the House.

The conservative Senate was the chief obstacle. By virtue of pressure, hard work, reference to the De Jonge decision, and the stand of the prosecuting attorneys, a small group of Senate liberals and left-wingers got a favorable report from the Judiciary Committee. Then it looked as if the bill would "die" on the calen-

⁶ Notably the criminal anarchy, red flag, sabotage, sedition and teachers' oath acts.

dar, which was firmly controlled by the powerful, conservative Rules Committee. Meanwhile the Seattle *Star* and Bishop Huston came out for repeal. Unexpectedly, an administration leader who wanted very much to get an important departmental measure pertaining to shell fish out of the Rules Committee came for aid to Senator Mary Farquarson of Seattle, one of the left-wing leaders. She agreed to help him if he would not oppose taking the criminal syndicalism repeal bill from the Rules Committee also. In the closing days of the session, and on the second such attempt, the bill was taken from the Committee by a 16-15 vote. Then Senator Farquarson sent a note to Lieutenant-Governor Victor Meyers telling him whom to recognize and not to let "the noisy left-wingers," including herself, speak. He recognized just the right persons on a crowded floor and the repeal bill passed by a surprisingly large vote.

General Conclusions

A general review of criminal syndicalism legislation from 1935 through 1939 suggests the following conclusions:

The pattern of interest-groups favoring and opposing the criminal syndicalism laws and the arguments *pro* and *con* remain generally the same as in the earlier period 1917-1933.⁷ In the years 1935-1939 patriotic and employers' organizations and conservatives in general, newly reinforced by the Elks and Knights of Columbus, supported such laws; labor, liberal, progressive and radical

organizations opposed them. The "average" middle-class legislator, especially from the rural districts, knew little about such legislation, distrusted any movement labeled radical or in which Communists participated and, in any case, could not afford to incur the enmity of the politically strong "patriots" and economically powerful employers.

The history of all types of repressive laws for the years 1935-1939 shows that with a few exceptions the groups behind them were on the defensive, and this is confirmed by the record of criminal syndicalism legislation in particular. Only one bill to enact a syndicalism law was introduced in this period, and it was defeated. In Kansas and Oklahoma two new-type measures to include provisions against sit-down strikes in the criminal syndicalism acts were unsupported by any organized effort and therefore failed to pass.

The forces opposed to such legislation took the offensive and repealed the Oregon and Washington statutes, the first outright repeal of any criminal syndicalism laws. However, the fact that repeal campaigns in eight other states were unsuccessful and that no repeal bills were introduced in ten states indicates that the forces desiring to retain these laws are powerfully entrenched and await only a wave of reaction (which often occurs most markedly in a war or postwar period) to enforce the criminal syndicalism laws where they exist or to place them on the statute books of additional states or even the federal government.

⁷ See Dowell, pp. 45-49, 78-80 and 143.

Obstacles to Repeal

The unsuccessful campaigns in the nine states failing to eliminate or moderate their syndicalism acts reveal the weaknesses of the repeal movement. Unless these defects are cured the liberal-labor forces will be in no condition to check further repressive legislation in a time of hysteria, reaction or war. These defects are: (1) the reactionary hue of many legislatures and the inability of any liberal-labor or farmer-labor group to secure political power; (2) the failure to secure, to any great extent, support for repeal among farmers or farm organizations, conservatives and "middle-of-the-roaders"; (3) the indifference of conservative labor leaders and the harmful effects of the CIO—A.F. of L. split; (4) the difficulty of organizing an extensive repeal campaign and, once organized, of keeping it on a sane middle course, and of preventing repeal hearings from becoming mere forensic shows; (5) the lack of a technique and emotional appeal to counterbalance the familiar trick of raising "red scares," denouncing repeal advocates as un-American or Communist and thereby frightening legis-

lators from introducing or supporting repeal bills; (6) insufficient support by the press and (7) the difficulty of devising and maintaining effective methods of educating the general public in regard to the criminal syndicalism laws, other than by experience with their harsh enforcement or by successive legislative hearings and debates on unsuccessful repeal bills.

Barring unexpected changes existing criminal syndicalism laws will probably remain on the statute books for some years to come unless the "average" citizen and legislator become tolerant enough to deal with unpopular doctrines, short of direct incitement to violence, by education and publicity, instead of repressive legislation. This will involve a return to the lost Americanism of Thomas Jefferson: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this union or change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left to combat it."

E. FOSTER DOWELL
Hollins College, Virginia

PUBLIC RELATIONS ACTIVITIES

McKesson & Robbins: A Study in Confidence

[Following the sensational developments of December 1938, McKesson & Robbins, Inc., faced one of the most difficult public relations problems encountered by any major business organization in recent years. In the belief that the program developed to meet this situation would be of interest to readers of the QUARTERLY, the Editors have asked Baldwin, Beach and Mermey, public relations firm retained by the trustee in bankruptcy, to describe the steps taken to regain public confidence.]

WHEN McKesson & Robbins, Inc., opened its doors on December 4, 1938, as it had on every business day for more than a hundred years, it was a respected member of the business community and the dominant factor in the distribution of pharmaceuticals and the various sundries sold in the drug stores of the United States. It was also the largest distributor of imported and domestic wines, cordials and distilled spirits. Its stock and debentures were being traded on the "Big Board" of the New York Stock Exchange.

Within less than a week the Mc-

Kesson organization found itself in an ever-widening vortex of fear: the fear of executives for their business and reputations, of employees for their jobs, of manufacturers for the distribution of their products, of retail druggists for their inventories, of consumers for their purchases. This fear grew from a series of court proceedings, disclosures, rumors, arrests and indictments punctuated by the suicide of the company's president who had been uncovered as a criminal, past and current.

Added Complications

Nor was fear allayed by reason of routine action taken under the Federal Food and Drug Act that is mentioned here only because of its direct effect on public confidence in the House of McKesson and the products it handles. In a worthy effort to protect the public, the Federal Food and Drug Administration polices the drugs offered for sale and the labelling and advertising of the drugs so offered. Its inspectors seize any drug found on a store shelf or in a public dispensary, which does not conform with the latest approved formula and labelling. These stand-

ards are changed (generally in minor respects) with such frequency that often a product, which met all regulations at the time of its manufacture and packaging, is still on some druggist's shelf after those regulations have been modified. If picked up by an inspector, such a drug is not returned to the manufacturer or otherwise disposed of quietly. Rather, under the law, it is seized and publicly damned as "adulterated, misbranded, false and fraudulent."

Under normal conditions, these routine seizures are discounted by a knowing press; but the Coster-Musica scandal was so spectacular that anything associated with the McKesson name became good copy. Thus a routine seizure made at this critical time became not only news in itself but also, in the case of certain journalists, the news peg on which to hang the record of seizures over a period of years. It mattered not that most of these seizures were of drugs manufactured by other companies and only distributed by McKesson. It mattered not that the McKesson record with the Food and Drug Administration was the equal of that enjoyed by several other distinguished pharmaceutical houses. Wasn't McKesson "news" from any angle? And so fear spread and was intensified.

It seemed impossible that any company could survive such disorganization at the top and such body blows to public confidence. But the year 1939 showed better business and greater net profits than in any pre-

vious year; and the first quarter of 1940 marks even further progress with a \$324,621 gain over last year's comparable period. Furthermore, the McKesson & Robbins organization, which Coster had assembled as a loose federation of sixty-six local wholesale houses scattered all over the country, has been welded into a single unit, and the only two executives who have resigned from the company in this period had made their plans to do so before Coster was unmasked.

The only basis upon which such a recovery could be made was the introduction of other basic motives more powerful than fear. These motives were the courage of the trustee appointed by the Federal Court, the loyalty of the McKesson personnel, and the faith which the large manufacturers who distribute through McKesson and the druggists who buy from McKesson retained in the heads of the local houses that composed the McKesson organization. Of these forces the one most immediately vital was the courage of William J. Wardall in announcing promptly after his appointment as trustee that he intended to carry the business on, not wind it up. This provided the backbone to which the other forces could attach themselves with some promise of results.

The Trustee

Mr. Wardall came into the McKesson picture on December 8, 1938, four days after the attempt to institute a quiet reorganization in the Connecticut courts had aroused suspicion and had been blocked, and

eight days before Coster committed suicide. Wardall had made a reputation as trustee in the 77B reorganization of the Associated Telephone Utilities, a proceeding in which his long experience as an investment banker was helpful. His handling of that case anticipated in certain respects the provisions of Chapter 10 of the Chandler Act which replaced 77B; hence he was familiar with procedure. But he knew nothing of the drug trade, and he had never had experience with public relations as a factor in business. It was only because some of the McKesson executives and stockholders pointed out the need for maintaining public confidence as the basis of continuing in business, and urged the appointment of public relations counsel, that he consented to do what was alien to his business training and philosophy. Once having made the appointment, he gave his counsel full cooperation even to the point of over-riding in certain instances the opinions of his other advisors and associates. He was quick to catch on to the restrictions as well as the potentialities in an orderly development of a public relations background for the reorganization program, just as he also absorbed the general principles of the manufacturing and merchandising aspects of the business.

Public relations counsel were retained on December 21, 1938. By that time Mr. Wardall had effectively laid the cornerstone of the public relations program by his prompt announcement that he would

carry the business on; and he had already initiated his fact-finding program by the appointment of auditors to make a complete analysis of all financial records, and of engineers to make a full inventory of all merchandise, checking for both quality and quantity. By that time, also, the drug trade press, under the notable leadership of *Drug Topics*, had rallied to the support of the McKesson organization and was emphasizing its inherent soundness.

Constructive News

But the daily press was making a Roman holiday out of the McKesson case, and the criminal phase was setting the news emphasis. It was essential to get constructive news into circulation as fast as possible. From the start, however, the policy was adopted of making no statement unless and until the trustee was sure of his ground; for any false or premature step on his part would have spread public suspicion to the reorganization itself and would thereby have made the company's rehabilitation even more difficult.

Adherence to this policy required patience. The auditors had to have time to probe the extent of the financial manipulations. The engineers had to make a thorough count of stocks carried in 76 warehouses both in the United States and abroad, and to employ chemists for sample testing as to quality before an inventory could be completed. The lawyers had to spread a legal dragnet to recover hidden assets. And at the same time the trustee had to develop confidence in the

executives without whose aid he could not hope to continue the nation-wide McKesson operations.

One important aspect of the problem was the degree to which public confidence could be restored through the divisional offices, without creating a psychology in which some of these organizations might be tempted to abandon ship and revert to their former status as independent houses serving local territories. It is to be remembered that, although McKesson & Robbins has been a firm name in the drug field for more than a century, the present corporation dates only from 1928 when Coster bought the old firm and started to bring into it local drug houses in various parts of the country. Several of these firms are as old as the original McKesson & Robbins; all of them enjoyed well established reputations and good will in their respective territories. The heads of these houses, who had effected the mergers with Coster under the McKesson & Robbins banner, continued for the most part in just that capacity. The sense of autonomy was further secured by the retention of the old names in the new set-up. As examples, it is the Langley-Michaels Division on the West Coast, the Faxon Drug Division in Kansas City, the Fuller-Morrison Division in Chicago, the Murray Division in South Carolina and the Bedsole-Colvin Division in Mobile.

These names have always stood for something very solid in their respective territories where the manipulations of a stranger in New

York seemed unreal and far away. Obviously, the thing to do was to play up this local confidence, bearing in mind, however, that such a reversion to the constituent parts might lead, if overplayed, to an actual breakdown of the loose federation formed by Coster. Thanks to the good sense and the group loyalty of the divisional heads, the reassurance of public confidence through the local leaders was effected with no loss to the corporate whole but with, in fact, a real welding of the federated interest in McKesson & Robbins.

Magazines and Films

But the problem was not one simply of stimulating constructive news; so long as the Coster-Musica denouement held public attention as a seven-day wonder, it was fair prey not only for the dailies but also for the magazine writers and the film producers. Mr. W. G. Campbell, director of the Federal Food and Drug Administration, was appealed to in connection with the misinterpretation of the routine seizures of drugs technically violating the pure food and drug legislation as administered by his inspectors. The statement he gave to the trustee was sufficiently definite to serve as a useful tool in discouraging any further stories on allegedly adulterated products.

The magazine writers were given full cooperation—to the point where they saw the picture as a whole and, so seeing it, decided it wasn't as "hot" as they had thought it to be. (It was not until a full year later that

the editors of *Fortune* decided really to tackle what had become a saga and published their article in their March 1940 issue, by which time McKesson & Robbins, Inc. had just reported the most successful year in its history.)

As to the two motion picture producers who saw in Coster-Musica the subject for a thriller, they lost interest after several of the largest manufacturers of pharmaceuticals joined with the McKesson trustee in pointing out to them and to the Hays organization that dramatic exploitation of what was solely a financial crime might well undermine public confidence in all drugs and thereby offend sound public policy.

The Second Stage

Thus the first stage of the public relations program had the two objectives of laying a foundation of constructive news and of heading off various exploitations of the fantastic criminal news. This stage gradually merged into the second which was high-lighted by the release of a display advertisement in the newspapers of the 66 cities where McKesson wholesale houses are located. Headed "Facts About McKesson & Robbins," the advertisement emphasized that the fraud was in no way related to the company's essential services "which are continuing on a sound basis and without interruption." A thorough program of merchandising or "pre-selling" this advertising was carried out. In many instances newspaper publishers sent advance proofs to all the druggists in their cities, citing the high reputa-

tion of the company and calling attention to the fine quality of McKesson manufactured products as well as of other merchandise which it handles.

Its reassuring effect was strengthened by the appearance in several cities of advertisements placed by local druggists to testify to their confidence in the integrity of the House of McKesson. Naturally the advertising campaign was in itself news that was widely carried by the daily press. At the same time the influence of the trade press in reaching the 60,000 retail druggists of the country was not overlooked; a continuing advertising schedule was maintained in this field, and the editors were kept fully advised as to all developments.

Reinforcements

In one sense the first two stages constituted delaying tactics to give time for reinforcements to be mobilized and brought up. These reinforcements were of two types: the facts developed by the auditors and engineers in the course of the most searching and comprehensive investigation ever made of an important American corporation of this type; and the sales and earnings figures under the trusteeship. Once these authenticated facts began to become available, the trustee approved the policy of periodic releases. He dealt in reports of what had been accomplished, not in statements as to what he hoped to do. The result was that editorial writers and financial commentators were stimulated to take a favorable view of what had

apparently been destined for a major business catastrophe. Psychologically as well as statistically, McKesson had turned the corner within less than six months of Coster's suicide.

Since then the objective has been the consolidation of McKesson's position in public confidence, with increasing attention to the merchandising of the company's products and services while the trustee is proceeding through the various steps preliminary to the final reorganization. In this fourth and continuing phase, the problem most in mind has been to avoid overplaying the progress made and thereby possibly misleading those holders of the company's debentures and stock, who are not versed in financial operations. For example, the formal announcement of resumption of trading in McKesson securities on the New York Stock Exchange was prepared with a view to emphasizing that such resumption did not mean that the company's reorganization had been completed, and that re-listing of the securities did not change their status as stocks and bonds of a company still in reorganization.

Other Techniques

Such is the bare recital of the public relations program as it has been developed under the leadership of Mr. Wardall. It does not take in the problem of dealing with advertising solicitors and with politicians in the drug industry, each of whom asserted that his program or his influence (and his good will) was

essential to the company's salvation. It does not include the critical issue as to whether the company dared to exhibit at the American Medical Association's annual convention in St. Louis last year, or the electrifying effect on the company's personnel of the exhibit's cordial reception by the medical profession. It leaves out the preparation and distribution among doctors and druggists of "A Camera Tour Through the McKesson Laboratories," a profusely illustrated brochure to show the research and laboratory control behind McKesson products. It excludes the important influence on intra-company cooperation and loyalty which resulted from a series of trips taken by senior executives to the various wholesale houses throughout the country. And it neglects the important problem of reorganizing and strengthening the advertising program.

Under normal operating conditions the public relations problems of a company of the size and with the ramifications of McKesson & Robbins, Inc., would be complicated enough; under the conditions created in December 1938, these problems have been multiplied and intensified. Certainly, however, they have not included public and editorial indifference. If there has been any miracle in their happy solution, it is because courage and loyalty and faith are more positive forces than fear.

WILLIAM H. BALDWIN AND
BREWSTER S. BEACH

Baldwin, Beach and Mermey

Public Relations of the 1940 Census

No OTHER agency of the American government has ever come into direct contact with as many U.S. inhabitants as did the Bureau of the Census during its 1940 enumerations. The groups to be enumerated included: 132 million people in the census of population; 33 million homes in the census of housing; 7 million farms in the census of agriculture; 3 million businesses in the census of business; 170 thousand factories in the census of manufactures; 400 thousand oil and gas wells, and 14 thousand coal and metal mines, in the census of mines and quarries.

The major administrative objective of the Census Bureau was to secure census returns of maximum accuracy and completeness with a minimum of effort. This objective determined the task of the Bureau's public relations program¹—a task which was made more difficult than usual by the inclusion of a number of new questions, which, among other things, led to bitter attacks on Census Bureau activities by Senator Charles W. Tobey, Jr., of New Hampshire, and others.

The smoothness with which the 1940 censuses have been conducted to date, and the apparent absence of significant citizen resistance, are evidence of the effectiveness of the Bureau's public relations program. This program was designed to elicit maximum cooperation and minimize resistance from those persons and

groups whose aid was necessary or desirable for completion of the various censuses.

Enlisting Cooperation

Chronologically, the first group to be shown the nature and necessities of census problems were those primarily responsible for providing funds for the census effort—the Bureau of the Budget, the Congressional appropriations committees, and Congress itself. Then came the "facilitators"—persons in business or academic circles competent to advise or assist in the formulation and prosecution of census activities; local political officials, social, religious, and economic leaders useful in securing favorable response to census inquiries. And finally the persons themselves who were to be enumerated.

Two primary lines of approach were employed. The persons to be utilized, and especially those to be enumerated, were prepared in advance of actual enumeration. They were furnished information about census questions, the reasons for the inclusion of such questions, and the uses of census data. In general, an attempt was made to persuade them

¹ Thanks are due to Mr. Frederick N. Polangin, Chief of the Division of Current Information of the Department of Commerce, for providing the general picture and personal introductions, to Mr. Gerald Ryan, Regional Chief, and to Mr. Frank Wilson of the Public Relations Division of the Census Bureau, for providing further specific information and materials on which this article is based.

of the value to themselves and to the groups in which they were interested of a complete and accurate census. In addition, they were given assurances about their personal safety in dealing fairly and frankly with census enumerators.

The other primary task was to ensure satisfactory relations between the persons approached for census information and those who approached them. Enumerators had to be trained to overcome whatever resistance remained after the advance preparation, and to capitalize on cooperation.

Administrative Organization

In the first instance, public relations for the census was the responsibility of the public relations staff of the Department of Commerce, acting in cooperation with the responsible Census Bureau officials. For the 1940 census, a special fund of \$139,641 was appropriated to set up a Public Relations Division within the Census Bureau. The Division's staff consisted of a chief, several technicians and writers, and a small group of clerical and stenographic assistants.

The Division handled the public relations program within the lines decided upon in conference among the two top publicity officers of the Commerce Department, Victor Sholis and Frederick Polangin; the chief of the new public relations division, Roscoe Wright; and the bureau operating officials. Mr. Wright was responsible for additional specific planning, and for the direction of the

drive to win public acceptance and cooperation. The conception of many and the implementation of all techniques, contact work and general organizational activities were under the direction of Mr. Wright.

Major Concepts

The major concepts and devices used in the Bureau's public relations campaign may be summarized as follows:

Public attention was directed to the rôle of census information in solving contemporary public problems. It was pointed out that, through the use of census facts, there is prospect of enhanced security for the nation as a whole, for business, for commerce, for labor, for manufacture, for agriculture, for state and local political (community) subdivisions. Interested parties, groups, and individuals can enjoy greater hope of correcting the economic dislocations of the past ten years, once census data is collected, tabulated, and made available to them. The problems of unemployment and of mass purchasing power can then be considered in conjunction, as illuminated by census findings. The census will provide facts to guide policy about other well known economic and social problems of the past decade, such as migratory labor, sharecropping, soil conservation. In short, the census will provide an enumerated factual basis for sound planning for the future of agriculture, business, and other phases of the national life.

It was suggested that pride of Americans in their country, New

Yorkers in their state, textile manufacturers in their business, can feed on census facts. The census is a photograph of important phases of national and local life at a given point in time, a record for the next ten years of local and national growth and achievement.

Attention was directed to the facts that the census provides temporary employment for 150,000 Americans, as well as an opportunity for almost everyone to participate in a national enterprise.

Democratic Undertaking

Another important slant was that an American census is a democratic undertaking, done in a cooperative and free manner. The differences between a census in free America, and similar governmental relations in authoritarian countries, were rehearsed. Here the census is a public enterprise engaged in by all, for the benefit of all, to the detriment of none. The citizen can trust his government's agent when he calls; he need not fear the outcome. To participate in the census is to break a lance in the cause of freedom, since, through the census, democracy is made stronger; only through the census can democracy take stock of its assets, cast up its balance sheet, plan for the prosperity and strength of the future. The better the census, the better the facts, the better the economic, social, political prospects of the nation and its components.

Census questions and census procedures were presented as the result of popular demands, as enjoying popular approval. This is *your* 1940 cen-

sus, say the pamphlets. The truth of popular approval is demonstrated, say the spokesmen, by the fact that census results are universally accepted as accurate, and universally demanded for the purposes of the people.

Emphasis on the cooperative, publicly approved character of the census required minimizing emphasis on the compulsory aspects of census procedures. Stress was placed rather upon the value and necessity of cooperation among all concerned to achieve speed, completeness and accuracy.

Symbols of Assurance

Another central point in the drive for favor was the circulation of symbols of assurance. The anonymity with which census materials are treated and the secrecy in which they are stored were made clear. The fact that in final census publications there is complete divorcement of particular source from ultimate result, was pointed out. By wide publicizing of the questions to be asked, their innocuous character was made known. It was pointed out that most of the questions had been used before, as had most of the techniques for securing answers; that, were there real cause for complaint, there would have been outcry long before now; that the absence of prior protest shows that there is no need to be disturbed at this late date. Prohibition by law of the use of census schedules for purposes of investigation, regulation, and taxation, was stressed. References to legal penalties for failing to answer census inquiries were

always coupled with references to the more severe penalties for enumerators and others who divulge confidential information, and to the fact that the law requires that census schedules be kept confidential.

The enumerators were described as trained, competent, and trustworthy. Mr. Hopkins chided harborers of evil thoughts about them, charging that to impugn the integrity of the enumerator is to impugn the democratic process. Further, the point was made that statisticians and others who see individual schedules have neither time nor inclination to connect individual sources with the data.

Symbols of sanction were also widely circulated, although as has been suggested, they required subtle and delicate use. They must be inconspicuous, though present. The sanction of public opinion was invoked through identifying prominent local or national symbols with favorable attitudes towards the census process. Other sanction symbols enlisted included the Constitution, Congress, Law, the President.

Citizens Committees

The general ideology outlined above required wide dissemination, in such form and from such sources as to point up the persuasions and sanctions involved. It was decided to rely in large part upon local citizens groups as the most effective way of accomplishing this purpose. In the fall of 1939, a small pamphlet was prepared and circulated to mayors and chambers of commerce of over 3,000 cities and towns, informing

them of the desire of the Director of the Census that they cooperate by setting up a citizens committee in each community along suggested lines, which would see to it that their community got as favorable a census photograph as possible, and that the census data would be of maximum value to everyone.

Subject to local variations, it was suggested that the general citizens committee include the mayor, the presidents of the local chamber of commerce, service clubs, women's clubs, parent-teachers' association, advertising club, and real estate association, as well as the superintendent of schools, newspaper publishers, radio station managers, the postmaster, chief of police, and representatives of the major religious, business, labor, and foreign language groups in the community.

It was also suggested that five subcommittees be appointed to handle special phases of the work, each with appropriate local representation. One subcommittee would deal with problems of publicity and speakers, another with the census of manufactures, and similarly, one for each other census. A time-schedule for the campaign was proposed in order to avoid a possible anti-climax. It was suggested that the general committee and the subcommittees on publicity, manufactures and business, be appointed immediately, and the others appointed in January, and that the general campaign start then and culminate before the commencement of the April enumeration. Over 2,000 communities cooperated in this program.

The Public Relations Division supplied local committees with explanatory and informative material concerning the censuses to be taken, with news stories, speeches, sample news interviews, radio talks, radio plugs, and material suitable for use in schools and churches. Thus the general function of the division was that of wholesaling publicity to local outlets which in turn were responsible for getting it out through local media.

Other Channels

In addition to the use of local committees, the division prepared fact booklets, news stories, etc., which were circulated directly to newspapers. Some materials were also prepared for Census area managers and district supervisors for their special use, such as pamphlets setting forth the truth about the various new questions.

The division also availed itself of national channels. News releases to national press associations and feature articles in magazines (e.g., *Readers Digest*, *Forum*) were used. Radio programs included a series of eight playlets depicting various aspects of the census program, and the use of the census for major interest groups. CBS put into its series on "Americans at Work" a program describing the job of a census worker. The University of Chicago devoted a round-table session to the census. The Director of the Census spoke over a national hookup on the Star Radio Forum. A movie trailer was prepared and made available for showing to private gatherings and in public places. Newsreel shots of

many census activities were taken.

The President issued a proclamation adjuring all persons over eighteen to fulfill their civic duties by cooperating with the census, which also set forth the purposes and advantages (and symbolic sanction) of the census effort.

Slogans

Representative slogans circulated were: "To know America, tell America"; and "You can know your country only if your country knows you." The fact that literacy questions had been dropped from the census of population was also publicized, along with the corollary notion that America is now literate, and there is no point to investigating illiteracy further through the census.

A so-called Periodical Service Section was set up in October 1939, with the special mission of selling the census to groups affected by the censuses of agriculture, manufacturing and business. The means chosen to achieve this end was to demonstrate the usefulness of census data to groups in these fields, through the medium of trade periodicals. The periodicals were circularized and informed that the section stood ready to make available to them census information in convenient form in response to their requests. Over fifteen hundred requests were received and serviced. The section demonstrated "usefulness" by showing how census facts can guide business policy (wholesalers can more intelligently plan the location of branch offices in the light of census information about markets for their products) and agricultural policy (farmers can plan

kind and amount of crop more wisely in the light of census information on total production and markets).

Personnel Training

The other primary means of ensuring maximum cooperation was to ensure that relations between the enumerators and the enumerated were favorable. The most important item in this program was the proper training of the temporary personnel hired to take the census. The training program consisted of six weeks' intensive training of area managers, two weeks' training of district supervisors (mostly by area managers), and a short selection and training process of enumerators by district supervisors.

Briefly, this combined selection and training process began when a prospective enumerator applied to the district supervisor for employment. He had to be a citizen, and have the equivalent of a high school education. His handwriting had to be easily legible. The next selection hurdle consisted of an "intelligence test"—the prospect was given a sample schedule to fill out at home on the basis of a narrative and skeleton book of instructions furnished by the supervisor. Many prospective enumerators gave up at this stage. If however, their handling of the schedule indicated probable fitness for the job, they were given more intensive instruction, subjected to continual quizzing on it, and their eligibility determined by their demonstrated ability to understand content and reasons for each question included on the schedules.

Immediately prior to the April enumeration, the field people were brought together at eight convenient points in the country for final instructions from Washington experts, regional managers, and others.

The device mainly relied upon in the training program to ensure favorable public relations was to impart to each enumerator and his supervisors a thorough understanding of each question, of the reasons for its inclusion, and to acquaint them with some of the uses to which data from each question, and census data generally, are put. Each field person was directed to meet resistance with a cheerful explanation of the purposes of the census or of the specific questions causing trouble, and to rely on a polite, patient statement of the facts to secure citizen cooperation. They were instructed that credentials (in a form similar to a passport) must be shown willingly. Apparently little specific attention was given in planning the training phase to characteristic or anticipated resistances, and ways available to the enumerator to meet them, other than the general treatment just outlined. On the day before the enumerators set out to take the April censuses, Mr. Hopkins gave them his final advice, which summed up the admonishments of the training program.

A few special devices which were used to handle special problems are worth mentioning. One was the tactic of anticipating possible unfavorable reactions, facing them squarely and firmly, and immediately reassuring possible objectors as to the necessary or harmless character of the thing objected to, and the safety of

the person responding. Thus, when the fact of legal sanction was mentioned (as in some cases was unavoidable), it was accompanied by references to the greater legal penalties on enumerators and others, as well as to the fact that legal compulsion had occurred only rarely in the past.

Another special device was used in connection with the census of business and manufactures in Memphis. In that community, business committees were set up for each major line of activity covered by the censuses. If enumerators encountered resistance, the recalcitrance was ignored by the enumerator at the time, but reported to the appropriate committee, which itself took steps to get the recalcitrant to come along in the interests of a complete census and the best possible showing for the group.

The trial South Bend census, an innovation in census practice, was watched closely for public reactions to various elements of the census process. Experience there made it evident that the typical advance preparation of this community, the training of enumerators, and the enlisted cooperation of civic officials and religious leaders, was highly successful in minimizing resistance and eliciting favorable response. At South Bend, it was noted that many persons found the actual experience of enumeration much less onerous than they had anticipated. This fact, coupled with the general success of the trial, was useful later to demonstrate public approval and the harmless character of questions and procedures.

Senator Tobey

The major special problem of public relations encountered was that of minimizing or offsetting the unfavorable effects of the Tobey campaign. It was decided at the outset to meet his charges with argument on the facts, coupled with general statements about the broad values of the census that he was jeopardizing. Thus the charge that persons enumerated would be subject to political or other persecution, because of the way in which enumerators were chosen and supervised, was met by circulating the facts that the manner of choosing and supervising enumerators was no different than in previous years, when other political auspices were on top, and that there had never been public outcry nor untoward consequences.

When Director Austin spoke on the census over a national hookup on February 5, he did not refer to the Senator by name, but included in his remarks some comments on the absurd notion circulated by a few persons that the census was poking its nose into personal affairs. He pointed out that census questions were the people's questions, selected because of popular demand, and useful to throw light on the people's business. No census person from the Washington office went on the radio specifically to meet the Tobey charges. Whatever radio or other public statements by census people, made in contravention of his position, were made by local spokesmen on the basis of factual data from Washington designed to prove the traditional or harmless character of

the things complained of. Senators Pepper and Tobey engaged in a radio panel discussion on the subject, which was arranged in part through the activity of the Commerce Department's public relations staff.

After it became apparent that the Senator was not deterred by factual refutation from making new charges or reiterating old ones, it was decided to introduce a taunting element into the replies. Thus, one letter (from Director Austin, March 19) commenced: "Now that the little census blitzkrieg which you led so gallantly seems about to have spent its force, and since we are approaching the Easter Season when the spirit of charity and forgiveness should prevail, I am writing to ask you to join

with me in binding up the wounds." It continued by suggesting that Mr. Tobey, in the interests of a good census, could generously "demonstrate that Americans, although partisans, can really get together for the common good after they have indulged in their political fun."

Mr. Tobey's activities were subsequently ignored for the most part. On the eve of the April census, the Bureau got up a round-robin letter setting forth the values of the census and making a plea for full cooperation, which was signed by a number of business, government, and academic leaders, including the governor of Mr. Tobey's own state.

CHARLES A. H. THOMSON

Fellow of the Brookings Institution

Who's Who In Government Publicity

THE SECOND installment of the QUARTERLY's continuing "Who's Who" of public relations operating personnel features the publicity staff of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Only staff members on the professional and administrative levels are included.

The following brief biographical sketches are presented with the sole objective of assembling reliable information about some of the men who handle government publicity.

Department of Agriculture

Milton S. Eisenhower: Director of Information and Land Use Coordinator; age, 40; born, Abilene, Kan.; father's occupation, supervising engineer; Kansas State College (chief

subjects: agricultural journalism, agricultural and social sciences); city editor Abilene (Kan.) *Daily Reflector*; instructor in journalism, Kansas State College; American Vice Consul, Edinburgh, Scotland; Assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture; now coordinator of the informational activities and policies of the Department; coordinator of the land use programs and policies of the Department.

Morse Salisbury: Associate Director, Office of Information; age, 41; born, Cerro Gordo County, Iowa; father's occupation, truck grower and florist; Kansas State College and University of Wisconsin (chief subjects: journalism, agricultural economics, political science); worked for Manhattan (Kan.) *Morning Chronicle*,

and *Kansas Industrialist*; Kansas State College (taught journalism); University of Wisconsin (Editor, University Press Bureau); United States Department of Agriculture (1928-1938, Chief, Radio Service, starting the National Farm and Home Hour and other Department of Agriculture broadcasts; 1938 to present, Associate Director of Information); coordinator of information programs of the 32 bureaus and offices of the Department of Agriculture and responsible for management of central Office of Information services.

Samuel B. Bledsoe: Chief, Press Service; age, 41; born, Huntingdon, Tenn.; father's occupation, farmer; Union University, Valparaiso University (chief subjects: history, English); *Memphis Commercial Appeal* (telegraph editor, news editor); Associated Press (Washington office); coordinates departmental press contacts, handles general assignments.

Wallace L. Kaddery: Chief of Radio Service; age, 47; born Portland, Ore.; father's occupation, salesman; Oregon State College (chief subjects: agriculture, journalism); information and administrative duties Extension Service of Oregon State College, manager of radio station KOAC, Western radio program director, Department of Agriculture; responsible for all network broadcasting by Department of Agriculture, and for correlation of federal and state information for broadcast to farmers in cooperation with state agricultural extension services.

Keith Himebaugh: Chief, Division of Special Reports, Office of In-

formation; age, 38; born, Grand Rapids, Mich.; father's occupation, farmer; Michigan State College (chief subjects: literature, journalism, history, political science, economics); worked for *Detroit News*, *Detroit Times*, *Detroit Free Press*; Assistant Extension Editor, Michigan Extension Service; radio program director, WKAR, Michigan State College; Assistant Chief Regional Contact Section, AAA Information Division; Chief, Publications and Reports Section, AAA Information Division; in charge of production of special reports and publications dealing with the total program of the Department of Agriculture.

Gove Hambidge: Principal Research Writer, Office of Information; age, 49; born, Kansas City, Mo.; father's occupation, artist; Columbia University (chief subject: English); vocational and educational guide, Carnegie Hero Fund Commission; publicist, New York City Fire Department; managing editor, *The World Tomorrow*; assistant editor, *Cosmopolitan* magazine; free-lance writer for leading American magazines; author of *Time to Live, Your Meals and Your Money, Enchanted Acre, Six Rooms Make a World, New Aims in Education*; now editor of the Yearbook of Agriculture and writer on agricultural subjects.

Fred W. Henshaw: Chief Information Adviser; age, 41; born, Newaygo, Mich.; father's occupation, carpenter and farmer; Michigan State College (chief subjects: economics, agriculture, literature, science); reporter, *Grand Rapids Press*; agricultural editor and feature writ-

er, *Detroit News*; president and editor, *Magazine of Michigan*; consultant and adviser on current information problems.

Elmer M. Rowalt: Principal Writer, Office of Land Use Coordination; age, 37; born, Cincinnati, Ohio; father's occupation, business; Ohio State University (chief subjects: agriculture and economics); agricultural writer and editor for University of New Hampshire, Ohio State University, Soil Conservation Service; writer on land use subjects involving work of two or more land use agencies of Department.

Russell Smith: Director of Economic Information, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; age, 36; born, Birmingham, Ala.; father's occupation, printer and publisher; University of Alabama (chief subject: English literature); sports reporter, *Birmingham News*; reporter, *Trenton (N.J.) Times*; sports reporter, *Birmingham News*; telegraph editor, *St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times*; sports correspondent for eight southern newspapers, and part-time instructor in English at University of Alabama; managing editor, *Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News*; Washington correspondent for various newspapers including *Omaha World Herald*, *New York Evening World*, *Sioux City Tribune*, *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, *Richmond Times Dispatch*, *Scranton Times*; national news editor, *Washington Post*; in charge of information relative to the two major phases of work of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; general planning and economic research.

Ruth Van Deman: Chief, Information Division, Bureau of Home Economics; born, Iola, Kansas; father's occupation, pomologist; Smith College and Columbia University (chief subjects: English, biological science, home economics); edited home economics and agricultural bulletins *New York State College of Agriculture*; served as interim editor for *Journal of Home Economics*; planned educational radio program on food for Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company; supervises preparation of all material reporting results of Bureau of Home Economics research—bulletins, press releases, radio scripts, and exhibits.

Frank L. Teuton: Chief, Editorial and Information Division, Bureau of Agricultural Chemistry and Engineering; age, 47; born, on Tennessee farm; father's occupation, farmer; Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn. (chief subjects: agriculture, English, journalism, economics, and commerce); taught agriculture in rural schools, high schools, State Normal School; county agricultural agent; bank receiver; agricultural agent for Illinois Central Railroad; industrial agent for Seaboard Railway; writer for *Southern Agriculturist*; liaison officer between U.S. Department of Agriculture and the National Emergency Council; coordinates editorial and publication staff and responsible for all Bureau information and publications, troubleshooter for special problems.

Lester A. Schlup: Acting Assistant Chief, Division of Extension Information, Extension Service; age, 45; born, Sandusky, Ohio; father's occu-

pation, fishing industry: A.E.F. University, George Washington University, Southeastern University (chief subjects: economics, law, accounting, rhetoric); coordinator of production and use of visual aids and information for Extension Service; editor of *Extension Service Review*, a professional journal for 9,000 extension workers; responsible for relationships with extension editors of state land-grant colleges.

James B. Hasselman: Chief Information Officer, Marketing and Regulatory Work; age, 48; born, Indianapolis, Ind.; father's occupation, farmer; Wesleyan University (Conn.) (chief subjects: general science and arts); worked as agricultural extension editor, director of publications, and teacher of journalism at Michigan State College; Information Specialist, Department of Agriculture Extension Service; Assistant Director of Information, Agricultural Adjustment Administration; at present responsible for coordination and direction of information work for various marketing and regulatory activities of the Department of Agriculture.

Marvin M. Sandstrom: In charge, Marketing Information Section, Agricultural Marketing Service; age, 32; born, Kiron, Iowa; father's occupation, farmer; Iowa State College (chief subjects: economics, journalism); Iowa State College (assistant bulletin editor); U.S. Department of Agriculture: Agricultural Adjustment Administration (associate specialist in information); Bureau of Agricultural Economics (senior agricultural research writer, Division of Economic Information); as head of

Marketing Information Section is responsible for all phases of information work of the Agricultural Marketing Service; represents the Agricultural Marketing Service in its relationships with other bureaus, federal agencies, organizations and individuals relative to planning, acquisition, development and dissemination of information along the broad general lines of agricultural marketing.

Ruth de Forest Lamb: Chief Educational Officer, Food and Drug Administration; born, Hallstead, Pa.; father's profession, physician; Vassar College (economics, history), University of Rochester School of Medicine (biochemistry); staff reporter, Poughkeepsie *Evening Star*; feature writer, New York newspapers; advertising writer with J. Walter Thompson, N. W. Ayer & Son, Ruthrauff & Ryan; now in charge of all public relations for the Food and Drug Administration.

John L. Stewart: Chief, Information Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations; age, 42; born, Philadelphia, Pa.; father's occupation, Professor of Economics; Pennsylvania State College, Lehigh University (chief subjects: agriculture, economics); with Department of Agriculture since January 1924; deals with foreign competition and demand for American agricultural products and the handling of Departmental publications in that field; general supervision of information on international agricultural developments; participation in agricultural aspects of the reciprocal trade agreements program; special duties relative to Department's relations with

foreign governments, international agricultural gatherings, etc.

Dana Parkinson: Chief, Division of Information and Education, Forest Service; age, 54; born, Fergus Falls, Minn.; father's occupation, educator; Dartmouth College, Amos Tuck School of Business Administration and Finance, Yale Forest School; Supervisor of Salmon National Forest in Idaho and of Wapinitia National Forest in Utah; Assistant Chief of Grazing, Intermountain Region; Assistant Regional Forester in charge of Recreation and Lands and Public Relations in Intermountain Region of Forest Service; now plans, directs and coordinates information and education work for U.S. Forest Service.

Dallas S. Burch: In charge, Editorial and Information Office, Bureau of Animal Industry; age, 53; born, Milwaukee, Wis.; father's occupation, educator; University of Wisconsin (chief subjects: agriculture, biological sciences, journalism); editor, *Butter, Cheese & Egg Journal*, Milwaukee, Wis.; State Dairy Commissioner of Kansas; associate editor, *Farm and Fireside*; writer, Information Division, U.S. Food Administration; in charge of publication work of Bureau of Animal Industry, preparation and review of press and radio material and scenarios, preparation of reports, planning exhibits, posters, etc.; administrative duties.

L. S. Richardson: Chief, Section of Information, Bureau of Dairy Industry; age, 49; born, Keota, Iowa; father's occupation, poultry feed and hatchery business; Iowa State College of Agriculture (chief subjects:

animal husbandry and journalism); worked with Iowa State dairy extension service, editorial staff of dairy and swine journals, daily newspaper; press service, U.S. Department of Agriculture; present duties include editorial preparation of popular and technical publications, addresses, news reports, etc., and general information assignments.

Ernest G. Moore: Chief, Division of Information, Bureau of Plant Industry; age, 37; born, Blades, N.C.; father's occupation, farmer; North Carolina State College (chief subjects: agriculture, journalism, rural sociology); worked as assistant editor, Florida Agricultural Experiment Station; writer, assistant chief, and finally chief of Press Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture; now responsible for all information work in Bureau of Plant Industry.

Edwy B. Reid: Director, Information and Extension, Farm Credit Administration; age, 54; born, Allegan, Mich.; father's occupation, newspaper editor and publisher; University of Michigan (chief subjects: agriculture, economics, journalism); editor of farm papers; Washington representative of American Farm Bureau; directs extension and information work of the Farm Credit Administration.

Wayne H. Darrow: Director, Division of Information, Agricultural Adjustment Administration; age, 46; born, Lakewood, New York; father's occupation, farmer; Cornell University, and Texas A. & M. College (chief subjects: agriculture, agricultural economics); previously employed as farm manager; county

agent, district agent and extension editor in Texas Extension Service; Southwestern Information Representative and Chief, Regional Contact Section, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, USDA; now responsible for informational policies and programs of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

George A. Barnes: Chief, Division of Information, Soil Conservation Service; age, 30; born, Washington, D.C.; father's occupation, U.S. Government; Catholic University, Washington, D.C. (chief subjects: English, philosophy); worked for Chicago *Tribune* (Washington bureau); in charge of all public information and education activities of the Soil Conservation Service.

Marion L. Ramsay: Director, Division of Information and Research, Rural Electrification Administration; age, 42; born, Baltimore, Md.; father's occupation, business; Johns Hopkins University, George Washington University, National University (chief subjects: finance, public utilities); worked as reporter for Baltimore *Star*, Baltimore *Sun*, Baltimore *American*; city editor, Baltimore *American*; Washington correspondent Universal Service; has gen-

eral supervision of press and other current information work, publications, radio and exhibits for REA.

John Fischer: Chief Information Officer, Farm Security Administration; age, 30; born, Texhoma, Okla.; father's occupation, business; University of Oklahoma, Oxford University (chief subjects: political science, economics); worked for Amarillo, Tex., *News-Globe*; Carlsbad, N.M., *Argus*; Norman, Okla., *Oklahoma Daily*; Oklahoma Publishing Company; United Press (London, England); Associated Press (Washington, D.C.); coordinator of information staff and responsible for all regular information for the FSA.

John A. Bird: In charge, Information Section, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation; age, 30; born, Hays, Kan.; father's occupation, editor; Kansas State College (chief subjects: journalism, agriculture); worked as AP editor, Hays (Kan.) *Daily News*; director of advertising, Wheat Farming Company, Kansas City, Mo.; assistant chief, AAA Press Section; associate professor of journalism, Kansas State College; present duties include planning and coordination of information regarding the crop insurance program.

The American Council on Public Relations

A NEW instrumentality for cooperatively attacking and solving some of our more pressing social problems has recently been developed. It is the American Council on Public Relations, a non-profit corporation carrying on instruction and research in public relations, with headquarters in San Francisco and activities spreading throughout the nation.

The Council came into being early in 1939, as the outgrowth of a study of the relations between colleges and universities and daily newspapers on the Pacific Coast. Intimate contact with the problems, not only of higher education and newspapers, but also of commercial, industrial, professional, governmental, labor and other institutions, which the investigation made possible, revealed the pressing need for some agency to draw together all these vital forces in a cooperative study of their mutual interests and responsibilities. The Council resulted.

The struggle for existence in America has developed a spirit which in many of its aspects threatens the future welfare of the nation. Serious group cleavages have arisen among our citizens. A new sense of national solidarity, a new social consciousness is needed. The American tradition is one of freedom. This tradition must be adapted to the problems that confront us. The field of human relationships is broad enough to accommodate everybody who wishes to help in this task of adaptation. Thoughtful persons are now beginning to realize how imminent is the

danger confronting our national welfare; how important it is for some action to be taken which will mitigate group tensions and redirect forces tending to destroy the foundations upon which the prosperity of our nation rests. Welding the constructive forces of America into a working group is not a job that should be labelled reactionary, radical, liberal, or progressive, but is a job for all who are willing to pool at least enough of their time, interest, and resources to help check some of these alarming national trends.

The task of the American Council on Public Relations is one of education and scientific research; of finding facts and making them available for all who can use them constructively. Its purpose is to provide courses of instruction in public relations for representatives at all levels of our society.

Short Courses

The effectiveness of the Council was measured to some degree in the summer of 1939 by a series of three two-week courses on public relations held at Stanford University, Palo Alto; Reed College, Portland; and the University of Washington, Seattle, from July 31 to September 9. In February, 1940, a similar course was given in Milwaukee at the Milwaukee Vocational School with the cooperation of the University of Wisconsin. During the Pacific Coast series 411, and in Milwaukee 302, business, professional, labor, agricultural, governmental, educational, and

other leaders attended the courses. A substantial percentage of those enrolled were chairmen of boards, presidents, vice-presidents and other responsible executives of business enterprises.

Each course on the Pacific Coast included ten lectures on the following phases of public relations: Public Opinion and Propaganda, given by Dr. Harwood L. Childs, Princeton University; Consumer Relations, by Mr. Harford Powel, New York City; Industrial Relations by Dr. Don D. Lescohier, University of Wisconsin, and Practices and Procedures in Public Relations by Mr. Edward L. Bernays, New York City.

The course in Milwaukee was similar to those on the Coast. In addition to lectures by Childs, Lescohier, Powel, and Harlow of the Coast faculty, President Clarence A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin spoke on the Relations of Municipalities to Business; Dr. E. G. Nourse of the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., discussed Agricultural Relations; Dr. Ralph D. Casey of the University of Minnesota dealt with the subject of Propaganda, and Mr. Cyrus S. Ching of the U.S. Rubber Company, New York, spoke on Practices and Procedures in Public Relations.

Future Courses

A second series of two-week courses is scheduled for the Pacific Coast this coming summer: at the University of Washington, Seattle, July 8-19; at Reed College, Portland, July 22-August 2; at Stanford University, Palo Alto, August 12-23; and at the University of California at

Los Angeles, August 26-September 6. Lecturers for these courses will include Childs, Lescohier and Harlow of last summer's faculty, and Mr. Archibald M. Crossley, of Crossley Incorporated. In addition, Dr. George Gallup of the American Institute of Public Opinion, Mr. Paul W. Garrett of General Motors, Mr. Cyrus S. Ching of the U.S. Rubber Company, Mr. Alvin E. Dodd of the American Management Association, Mr. Russell L. Greenman of McKinsey and Company, and Miss Mabel G. Flanley of the Borden Company, all of New York City, are expected to participate. Lecturers are also being drawn from the faculties of the universities cooperating in the series.

The legal control of the Council is vested in a board of trustees, with officers and personnel as follows: *President*: Rex F. Harlow, Lecturer in Education and Political Science, Stanford University; *Vice-Presidents*: George W. Kleiser, President, Foster and Kleiser Company; Henry North, Vice-President, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; and Walter W. R. May, Director of Industrial Development, Portland Electric Power Company; *Secretary*: Paul C. Edwards, Associate Editor, San Francisco *News*; *Treasurer*: K. C. Ingram, Assistant to the President, Southern Pacific Company; *Legal Counsel*: J. H. Howard Marshall, member of the firm of Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro; *Trustees*: Nathan Eckstein, President, Schwabacher and Brothers, Inc., and B. I. Graves, Executive Vice-President, Tide Water Associated Oil Company.

The Council is financed by course enrollment fees, gifts and subscriptions from interested individuals and institutions, and memberships. Although close cooperation is maintained between the Council and a number of cooperating universities, no funds are paid by the Council to the cooperating universities nor by the universities to the Council. All expenses of conducting the short courses and meeting the requirements of the research program are borne by the Council. Planning the short courses and their sponsorship are joint responsibilities of the universities and the Council.

A national advisory committee is now being set up with President Ray

Lyman Wilbur of Stanford, President Robert Gordon Sproul of the University of California, President Clarence Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin, and Paul W. Garrett of General Motors as charter members. Other eminent leaders in America are being invited to serve on this committee. With a rapidly enlarging membership and a program expanding across the nation, the Council hopes to make a real contribution to the public relations thinking and the public relations problems of the country.

REX F. HARLOW

*President, American Council
on Public Relations*

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

This section features the measurement of public opinion by the "poll" technique. It contains the following departments: (1) ANALYSIS OF POLL RESULTS; (2) PROBLEMS AND TECHNIQUES; and (3) GALLUP AND FORTUNE POLLS, a regular compilation of the poll data released by the American Institute of Public Opinion and by *Fortune* magazine.

1. Analysis of Poll Results

War Attitudes of Families with Potential Soldiers

PROBABLY both the man in the street and the social scientist would guess that, on questions connected with American participation in the war, the opinions of people whose immediate families contain men of draft age would differ from those of persons without such family members. A less militaristic point of view might be expected on the part of those who stood to lose a loved one through possible active military participation. Surprisingly enough, however, investigation indicates that this common sense hunch is wrong. The opinions of persons with draft-age family members and those without such members appear to be almost identical in sample populations.

This conclusion is reached from analysis of data gathered by the American Institute of Public Opinion (A.I.P.O.). On several ballots the question has been asked, "Are there any men in your immediate family

18-30 years old?" On the basis of their answers, respondents were divided into two groups, and their answers to various questions pertaining to American participation in the war compared. A summary of the results appears in Table 1. Differences up to three per cent might be expected by chance. Hence the only question on which any reliable difference appears is that relating to a national referendum before war is declared. Here there is a slight but reliable tendency for those with men of military age in the family to be more in favor of such a vote. All figures are based on representative samples used by the A.I.P.O.

This similarity of opinion seems to hold for various sub-groups of the population as well as for the population as a whole. For example, respondents were classified into the following five groups: men from 30 to 40 years of age; men 40 and over;

TABLE 1

Percent "Yes":	People with draft-age family members	People without draft-age family members	Difference between percentages
"If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, should the U.S. declare war on Germany and send our troops abroad?" (Sept. 1, '39)*	23%	26%	3
Same question (Oct. 3, '39)	30	29	1
Same question (Mar. 8, '40)	8	10	2
 "Do you think every able-bodied man 20 years old should be made to serve in the army or navy for one year?" (Sept. 19, '39)	 39	 40	 1
"Do you think the U.S. should fight to protect Canada against attack by any country?" (Sept. 19, '39)	75	73	2
"If Canada is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the U.S. should go to war to defend Canada?" (Sept. 22, '39)	71	69	2
"Should the Constitution be changed to require a national vote before Congress could draft men for war overseas?" (Jan. 10, '40)	64	60	4
"Do you think the United States should do everything possible to help England and France, even at the risk of getting into the war ourselves?" (Oct. 3, '39)	25	28	3
"Do you think the U.S. should do everything possible to help England and France win the war, except go to war ourselves?" (Oct. 3, '39)	62	61	1

* The dates given indicate the time at which the ballots were distributed.

women 18-30; women 30-40; women 40 and over. Each of these groups was then divided according to the original division of persons with or without family members of military age. Again no consistent differences appeared.

As yet no adequate reasons have been discovered to account for this

result. Several alternate hypotheses are possible and will be tested in subsequent studies:

(1) As poll results reported elsewhere in this issue of the *QUARTERLY* show, for most Americans the war is still something that does not vitally concern them, something they not only want to keep out of but

something they, at present, actually think they will not be drawn into. Hence questions dealing with possible U.S. participation are still impersonal, still relatively intellectualistic, still removed from the actual contingencies of everyday life.

(2) A comparable but slightly different hypothesis may be that in a country where military service is not compulsory, where the threat of invasion is remote, and where citizens comparatively seldom think of themselves or others as potential soldiers, there may be little connection in their minds between U.S. participation in war and *my* own active involvement or that of members of *my* family. In other words, there may be a subjective separation of opinion from personal values.

(3) Another possible hypothesis is that the attitudes people have toward both the participation of the government and of the people in the war may, in large measure, be derived from accepted social values which determine not only what attitudes they will have towards the war but what social conditions, principles, and "ideals" they and others should strive to maintain. If, for example, a person has a strongly pro-democratic frame of reference and feels that the victory of one side in the war seriously threatens democracy, then it is likely that if this person has a son, husband, or brother of military age, the participation of that family member in a war to preserve democracy would be welcomed as thoroughly consistent with deep-seated convictions. Or if a person believes that "nothing in life is worth

fighting for," this general frame of reference would affect his specific attitudes irrespective of family composition.

There is already evidence that this last description of possible mental contexts is the most accurate one for many people. A *Fortune* question, published in January 1936, asked, "Would you be willing to fight or to have a member of your family fight in case our foreign trade were seriously interfered with by force?" Ten per cent of the men had no opinion, while 41 per cent said they would be willing to fight and 27 per cent of the women were willing to have a family member fight. If it became a question of fighting an invading enemy, both polls show that well over four-fifths of the people would want to participate. The relative ineffectiveness of peace propaganda of the "Do you want your boy to be cannon-fodder?" type is further indication of the fact that acquired social values for many persons may be more highly cherished than more personal values and attachments to loved ones.

As the danger to these broader social values becomes more imminent, personal identification with them is likely to become greater. Propaganda raises the values to a new high level so that by such identification the individual gains status and social prestige. Hence any fighting for the "nation," "democracy," the "protection of American rights" or the like becomes, subjectively, fighting for values which have now become an intrinsic part of oneself—I will suffer if national honor is not

maintained or if *my* ideals are not preserved; and to prevent such occurrences *my* family members should participate in war.

It seems likely that the first two hypotheses mentioned above are the most relevant today but that if the

same trends were found in more critical times, the latter hypothesis would be a more exact explanation for the same observable relationship.

DONALD RUGG AND HADLEY CANTRIL
Princeton University

2. Problems and Techniques

Experiments in the Wording of Questions

THE IMPORTANCE of the wording of questions in public opinion polls was emphasized by Elmo Roper in the last issue of the *QUARTERLY*. In his article Mr. Roper stated that he had offered to test through his organization alternate wordings suggested to him by the *QUARTERLY*. The report below summarizes the first experiment on this problem.

Alternate wordings on two questions of current interest were chosen. In the first question one form used President Roosevelt's name, the other did not. In the second question Hitler's name was mentioned in one form but not in the other.

1(a). Do you approve of Sumner Welles' visit to European capitals?

1(b). Do you approve of President Roosevelt's sending Sumner Welles to visit European capitals?

2(a). Do you think the U.S. should do more than it is now doing to help England and France?

2(b). Do you think the U.S. should do more than it is now doing to help England and France in their fight against Hitler?

Two representative samples of the population, based on the criteria used by Roper for the *Fortune* surveys, were selected. Questions 1(a) and 2(b) were asked one group, questions 1(b) and 2(a) were asked the other group. Each group contained about 1550 persons. The survey was made during March 1940.

Welles' Visit

When President Roosevelt's name is used in connection with Mr. Welles' visit, two significant differences in total response are revealed: more people have opinions and, although the percentage of people who approve of the visit remains identical, more people disapprove of it when its initiation is attributed to Roosevelt. The percentages are:

	<i>App. Disapp. No op.</i>		
1(a) [without Roosevelt]	43%	25%	32%
1(b) [with Roosevelt]	43	31	26

The President's name in this particular context, then, seemed to bring

people from the "no opinion" column to the "disapprove" column.

Women were more affected in this direction than men: their "no opinion" vote was reduced by nine per cent, that of men by only three per cent. As one might expect, the introduction of Roosevelt's name decreased the "approve" vote and increased the "disapprove" vote most in the upper income group. In the lower income brackets, however, the opposite of this tendency is not found. There, too, the "disapprove" vote increases significantly, although a slight rise is also noted in the "approve" vote. In both forms of the question the "no opinion" vote increases very appreciably as the economic status becomes lower, indicating the puzzlement or ignorance of people in the lower cultural levels. The division of opinion within economic groups is given in Table 1.

The President's name clearly tends to crystallize opinion. But in this instance it is not a simple matter where a "no opinion" vote falls evenly in alternate answers. Here for various reasons opinion is drawn out primarily against the visit when Roosevelt is mentioned. A part of this is due to the general condemnation of upper income groups of anything the President does. But such groups represent only a small minor-

ity. A more important reason for the shift is possibly due to the fact that persons who have no opinion on this question are either ignorant of, or uninterested in, the visit, or have not pondered its possible significance. When the President's initiation is clearly indicated, however, a few of these people may construe the visit as aggressive, dangerous meddling, likely to involve the United States in the war which we know, from other poll results, the great majority want to avoid.

Helping England and France

When the overthrow of Hitler is clearly indicated as the Allied objective, nine per cent more people think the U.S. should increase its aid to England and France.

Do Do
more no more No op.

2(a) [without
Hitler] 13% 75% 12%
2(b) [with Hitler] 22 66 12

The alternate wordings produce a slightly greater change of opinion in the expected direction among women, people over 40 years of age, and those in the lower income groups.

The "no opinion" vote in both forms of the question is lower for men, people in urban centers, and

TABLE 1

	Approve		Disapprove		Don't Know	
	1 (a)	1 (b)	1 (a)	1 (b)	1 (a)	1 (b)
Group A	50%	42%	33%	46%	17%	12%
Group B	52	46	29	34	19	20
Group C	43	45	25	33	32	22
Group D	37	38	22	27	41	35

persons in the higher income group. However, *within* each group it remains essentially the same on both forms of the question. Hence in this question, as contrasted to the first one, a very definite shift in attitude occurs, presumably because the intro-

duction of Hitler's name with the consequent awareness of an enemy to be destroyed, as well as friends to be helped, increases the intensity of the desire to see an Allied victory.

HADLEY CANTRIL
Princeton University

Confidence Limits and Critical Differences Between Percentages

This is a technical supplement to Mr. Wilks' article which begins on page 261.

SUPPOSE a sample of n cases is drawn "at random" from a large population in which each individual is either an A or a B . For example, in a certain population to be polled on a given question, the individuals can be classified according to whether they answer "yes," "no," or "no opinion." We could refer to the "yeses" as A 's and all others as B 's. Suppose the "yes" percentage of the population is p . Now p is unknown and the purpose of polling by using a sample is to estimate it. In a sample of n cases a certain percentage \bar{p} of the individuals will be "yeses." Suppose many such samples of n cases each are drawn. Each sample has its own percentage \bar{p} , and if the samples are all drawn under ideal random sampling conditions, these percentages will be clustered around the population percentage.

In view of this sampling fluctuation we cannot say in the case of a given sample that the value of the population percentage p is exactly

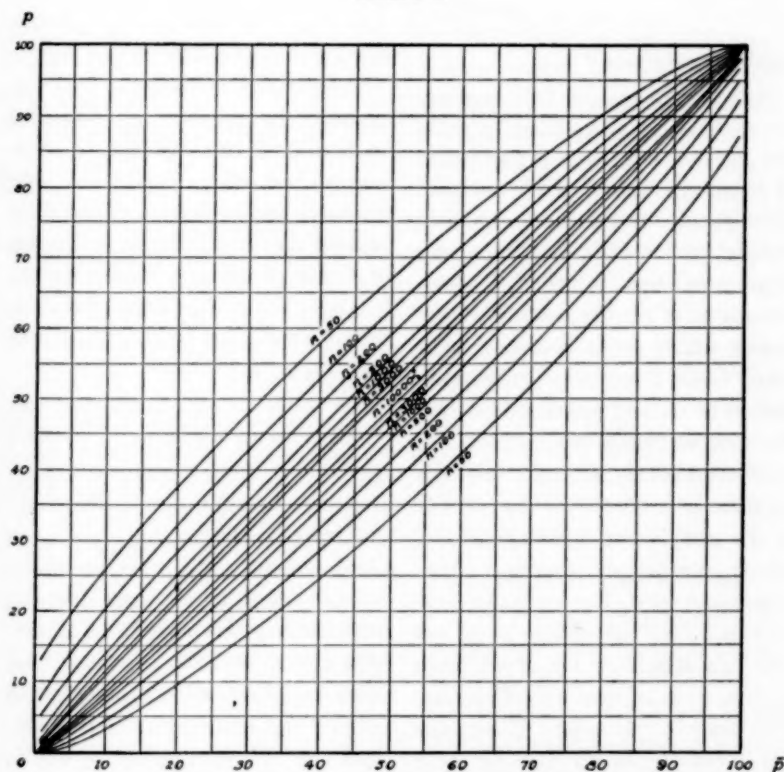
equal to \bar{p} , but for any given probability level, say 0.99, we can calculate *confidence limits* from the sample percentage \bar{p} and n the sample size, and say that the probability is 0.99 (or the chances are 99 out of 100) that the value of p in the population will be included between the confidence limits. For large n , say 50 or more, 99 per cent confidence limits of the population percentage p are approximately the two values obtained by solving the equation $n(\bar{p}-p)^2=6.64p(100-p)$ for p . If, for a given sample of size n , we regard the two confidence limits obtained in this way as being graphed for all values of \bar{p} between 0 and 100, we get a pair of curves. Pairs of curves obtained in this manner for $n=50, 100, 200, 500, 1000, 3000$, and 10,000 are given in Chart I. Although these curves have been computed under the assumption of unrestricted random sampling, it can be shown that they are conservative confidence limits of a population percentage p under conditions of representative sampling roughly described on pp. 262-3 of this issue of the QUARTERLY; con-

servative in the sense that the probability is at least 0.99 that the confidence limits for any given n and \bar{p} will include between them the value of p in the population.¹

As an example of the use of Chart I, suppose a representative sample of 1000 is drawn from a large population, and suppose 20 per cent of the people in the sample answer "yes" to a certain question. Using $\bar{p}=20\%$ in the chart and finding where the vertical line through 20 cuts the two

¹ This chart is based on the principles of fiducial inference which overcome certain difficulties inherent in the older "probable error" methods. A chart similar to this one has been published by E. S. Pearson and C. J. Clopper in *Biometrika*, Vol. 26 (1934). Theodore H. Brown of Harvard University has prepared a table showing the size of sample necessary, for several assumed values of the population percentage p , to produce various degrees of accuracy (in terms of deviations of three standard errors, or 0.997 probability level) in the control of sampling fluctuations of \bar{p} around p .

Chart I



Curves giving 99 per cent confidence limits of a population percentage p corresponding to each value of the sample percentage \bar{p} for sample sizes 50, 100, 200, 500, 1,000, 3,000 and 10,000.

curves for $n=1000$, the two confidence limits are seen to be about 17 per cent and 23.5 per cent. If we apply this procedure to a great many samples, getting a pair of confidence limits each time, and making the statement in each case that the confidence limits include the population value between them, then, under ideal conditions of random sampling, about 99 per cent of our statements will be correct. Under conditions of representative sampling, at least 99 per cent of our statements can be expected to be correct in the long run.

Small Populations

In case the sample is a random sample from a fairly small population, there is not as much fluctuation of the percentage of A 's in samples of a given size as in the case of samples of the same size from very large populations in which the percentage of A 's is the same. The procedure which we have described for using Chart I can be slightly modified so as to hold approximately for the case of small populations. For small populations, the value which is used for n in Chart I is not the size of the sample but $N(M-1)/(M-N)$, where N =sample size and M =population size. For example, suppose the "yes" percentage is 30 per cent in a sample of 100 drawn from a population of 1000 (a college student body for instance). The quantity $N(M-1)/(M-N)$ has the value 111. This means that a sample of 100 from a population of 1000 is essentially equivalent to a sample of 111

from a very large population as far as degree of sampling fluctuation is concerned, assuming the same "yes" percentages in the two populations. As there are no curves for $n=111$, we make a rapid graphical interpolation by noting that curves for $m=111$ would be very close to the curves for $n=100$. Taking $\bar{p}=30$, we see that the confidence limits are about 20 per cent and 42 per cent.

Percentages Within a Sample

Suppose each individual answers "yes," "no," or "no opinion" to a given question in a poll. In general, the "yes" percentage in the sample will be different from the "no" percentage. In view of the fact that each of these two percentages is subject to sampling fluctuations, the question arises as to how large should be the difference between the two percentages before we can consider the sample difference as indicative of a genuine difference in the population.

As in the case of establishing confidence limits, we have to choose a probability level before we can answer the question. Let \bar{d} denote the difference between the "yes" and "no" percentages in a sample of size n , and let d be the corresponding difference in the population. If samples of size n are drawn under random sampling conditions repeatedly from a population in which the "yes" and "no" percentages are p_1 and p_2 respectively, then in approximately 99 per cent of the samples, the difference \bar{d} between "yes" and "no"

percentages in the sample will not deviate by more than

$$\frac{2.58}{\sqrt{n}} \sqrt{100(p_1 + p_2) - d^2}$$

from the difference between "yes" and "no" percentages in the population. In practice we do not know p_1 and p_2 ; if we did, there would be no point in sampling. The question to be settled is not how to set sampling limits on the difference \bar{d} in repeated sampling from a population with a given difference d , but how to set confidence limits on a population difference d for a given sample difference \bar{d} .

Now, 99 per cent sampling limits of \bar{d} are given by

$$d \pm \frac{2.58}{\sqrt{n}} \sqrt{100(p_1 + p_2) - d^2}$$

that is, in drawing random samples of size n repeatedly from a population with "yes" and "no" percentages equal to p_1 and p_2 , about 99 per cent of the samples have a difference \bar{d} which lies between these two limits. This does not imply that if d , p_1 and p_2 are replaced by the corresponding sample values, the resulting two values will include the value of d between them in about 99 per cent of the samples, although this is the procedure currently followed in practice and the results are perhaps satisfactory for practical purposes. Even if these limits are used, a considerable amount of computation is required to set up a satisfactory set of working charts or tables because so many variables are involved.

A simple, conservative critical value of the sample difference \bar{d} is

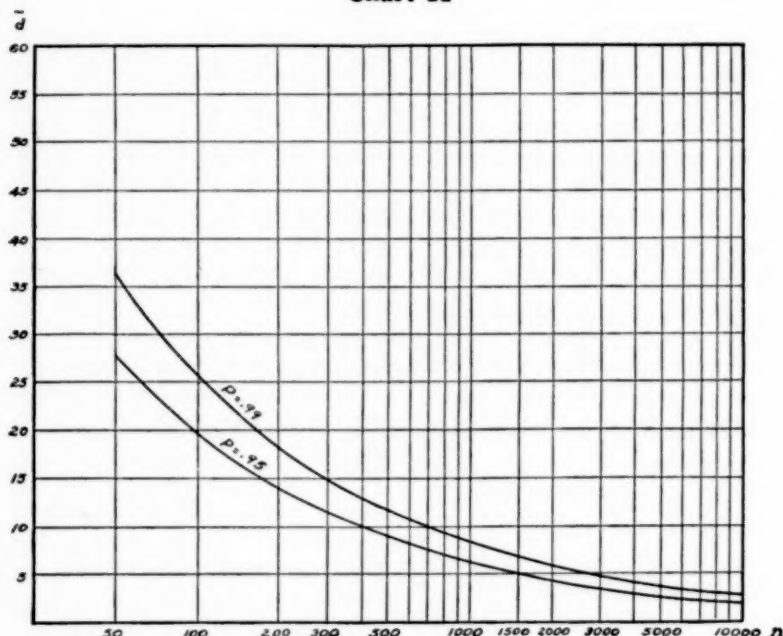
given by $258/\sqrt{n}$. It can be shown that if \bar{d} (taken as positive) is larger than $258/\sqrt{n}$ the probability is at least 0.99 that a genuine difference d between "yes" and "no" percentages exists in the population; or to put it more precisely, the probability is at least 0.99 that d would be included between two positive confidence limits. The value of $258/\sqrt{n}$ is definitely a conservative critical limit for \bar{d} , but it has the advantage of being simple and, even more important, it does not depend on the population percentages which are, in general, unknown.

The values of $258/\sqrt{n}$ for the various values of n can be graphed as a curve. This curve is marked $P=.99$ in Chart II. A similar curve ($P=.95$) is given for the 0.95 level of probability. The critical limit for this case is $196/\sqrt{n}$. To illustrate the use of Chart II, suppose the "yes" and "no" percentages to a given question in a sample of 3000 cases are 38 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. It is seen in Chart II that by taking $n=3000$, the critical difference is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Hence the 6 per cent difference in the sample can be regarded as significant at the 0.99 probability level.

Percentages in Two Samples

The problem of comparing two percentages within a single sample is different from that of comparing two percentages in different samples, due to the fact that two percentages within a single sample are negatively correlated, whereas there is no significant correlation between two per-

Chart II



Curves giving conservative critical limits of a difference between two percentages in the same sample for the two probability levels .95 and .99.

centages in two different samples. A discussion of the problem for two samples is entirely similar to that for the case of a single sample and will not be repeated, the essential difference being that

$\sqrt{p_1(100-p_1)/n_1 + p_2(100-p_2)/n_2}$ is used in place of

$$\frac{1}{\sqrt{n}} \sqrt{100(p_1 + p_2) - d^2},$$

where n_1 and n_2 are the two sample sizes.

The corresponding conservative critical limit for \bar{d} in the two sample case² is $129\sqrt{(n_1+n_2)/n_1 n_2}$. Critical values of \bar{d} for several values of

n_2 and values of n_1 from 50 to 10,000 are given in Chart III.

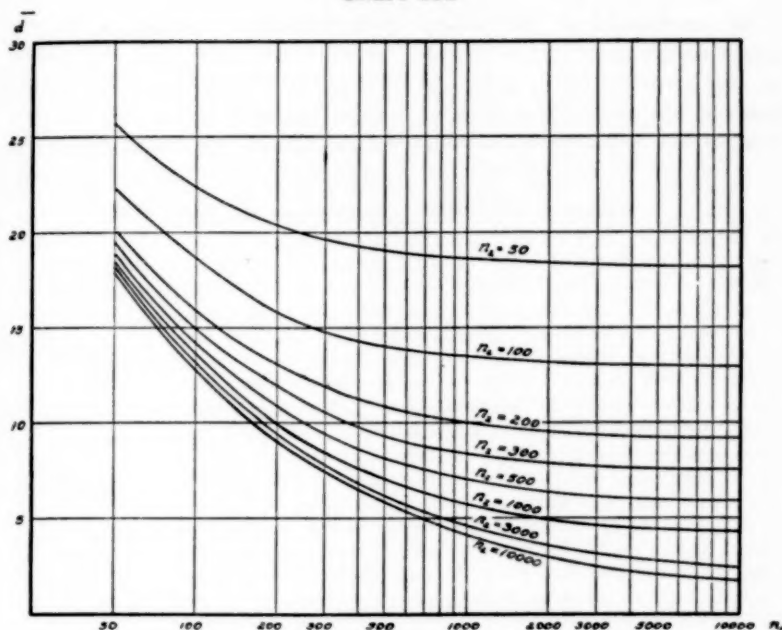
To illustrate the use of Chart III, suppose the "yes" percentage to a certain question in a poll of 3000 cases is 52 per cent, while the "yes"

²If instead of calculating \bar{d} , the difference of the two sample percentages p_1 and p_2 , we calculate the difference

$$\bar{d}' = 100(\sin^{-1} \sqrt{p_1/100} - \sin^{-1} \sqrt{p_2/100})$$

then $129\sqrt{(n_1+n_2)/n_1 n_2}$ is an exact (not conservative) critical limit for \bar{d}' , to a close approximation, at the 0.99 probability level. Nomograms based on \bar{d}' for testing the significance of the difference between percentages in two different samples have been prepared by Joseph Zubin, *Jour. Amer. Stat. Assn.*, Vol. 34 (1939), pp. 539-544.

Chart III



Curves giving conservative critical limits of a difference between two percentages in different samples for the .99 probability level. If a more highly refined significance test is desired, \bar{d}' as defined in footnote 2 should be used in place of \bar{d} .

percentage to the question in a second poll of 800 cases is 48 per cent. Taking $n_2=3000$ and $n_1=800$, it is seen that the critical difference is about 5 per cent. The sample difference of 4 per cent is therefore of doubtful significance at the 0.99 probability level.

The curves in Charts II and III are conservative for representative sampling in the same sense that those in Chart I are conservative. The use of Charts II and III can be extended to samples from small populations by following the same scheme of augmenting the sample size by using

the formula $N(M-1)/(M-N)$ discussed in connection with the use of Chart I for samples from small populations. Although all of the charts, particularly II and III, are based on certain calculations which make them conservative in a sense already discussed, they should be used with a great deal of caution when very small "yes" (or "no") percentages (less than about 5 per cent) are involved, and also when samples of less than about 50 cases are involved.

Finally it should be emphasized

again that the three charts are based on the assumption of unrestricted random sampling, and are conservative for representative sampling. They are not applicable when the sampling has been done incorrectly.

S. S. WILKS
Princeton University

[Large-scale copies of the charts contained in this article will be prepared by the QUARTERLY and offered for sale to those who may wish to use them for rapid calculations of confidence limits and critical differences of percentages, if sufficient orders are received in the near future.]

3. Gallup and Fortune Polls

This section contains a compilation, topically arranged, of poll results released by the American Institute of Public Opinion and by *Fortune*. It is complete for the time periods covered except for a few special surveys listed at the end of the section. The Institute results cover the period from January through March 1940. (Previous AIPO questions were reported in the July 1938, October 1939, and March 1940 issues of the *QUARTERLY*.) The *Fortune* questions are those which appeared in the January, February and March issues of the magazine. (Previous *Fortune* questions were reported in the March 1940 issue of the *QUARTERLY*.) Under each topic, all of the Institute data are given in chronological order, then all of the *Fortune* material, also in chronological sequence. Dates appearing in connection with AIPO questions are those carried in the date lines of Institute releases to subscribing newspapers; dates following *Fortune* questions indicate the issue of the magazine in which the information appeared. Institute questions are designated by AIPO; *Fortune* questions by FOR. "DK" stands for "don't know"; "no op." for "no opinion." In considering this poll data, the reader should bear in mind certain salient points of reference set forth on pages 75 and 76 of the March 1940 issue of the *QUARTERLY*. The *QUARTERLY* wishes to express its appreciation to George Gallup and the American Institute of Public Opinion and to the editors of *Fortune* and Elmo Roper for their cooperation in making these survey results available in convenient form to other students of public opinion.

Part One: Domestic Issues

1. POLITICAL

CAMPAIGN PRACTICES

Do you think it is all right for people to solicit money for political campaigns from government employes, or do you think this should be prevented by law? (Feb. 28, '40—AIPO)	All right	23%
	Should be prevented	77
	No opinion	12

REPUBLICAN PARTY POLICY

Would you like to see the Republican party be more liberal or more conservative than it was in the Presidential campaign of 1936? (Feb. 11, '40—AIPO)

	Feb. 1940	July 1939	Oct. 1938	Dec. 1937
More liberal	59%	55%	56%	47%
More conservative	17	17	15	12
About the same	24	28	29	41

Do you think the Republican party has a better chance, Better 77%
or a worse chance, of winning this year's election if it Worse 10
nominates a liberal candidate and adopts a liberal pro- No diff. 13
gram? (Feb. 11, '40—AIPO)

Regardless of which political party you sympathize with, which of the following courses of action do you think would give the Republican party the best chance of winning the 1940 election? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Prosper- ous	Poor	Execu- tives	Unem- ployed	Students
Campaign on the side of keep- ing us out of war no matter what happens abroad	41.9%	41.5%	42.0%	33.7%	41.9%	66.7%
Base their election campaign on domestic issues just as if there were no war	24.1	30.9	20.3	46.4	19.5	25.9
Come out for a definite policy of giving the Allies what- ever support they need to win	8.2	8.4	7.5	10.2	8.3	3.7
Other	2.4	2.1	1.6	3.6	1.5	—
Don't know	23.4	17.1	28.6	6.1	28.8	3.7

PARTY PREFERENCE

In politics, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Independent, Socialist or Republican? (Jan. 14, '40—AIPO)

	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Other
Total	38%	42%	19%	1%
New England States	43	27	28	2
Mid-Atlantic "	41	39	19	1
East Central "	42	38	20	*
West Central "	42	38	19	1
Southern "	20	70	10	*
Western "	34	45	20	1
Professional	44	29	25	2
Business Men	48	29	22	1
Skilled Workers	36	44	19	1
Semi-skilled	33	47	18	2
Unskilled	27	55	16	2
White Collar	36	40	22	2
Farmers	38	49	12	1
Farmers (Outside South)	45	40	14	1
May, 1937	33	50	15	2

(No opinion 5%) * Less than 1%

PARTY STRENGTH

Which party would you like to see win the Presidential election in 1940?
(Dates as indicated—AIPO)

	<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>No op.</i>		<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Rep.</i>	<i>No op.</i>
April, 1939	49%	51%		New England	45%	55%	
October, 1939	57	43		Mid-Atlantic	53	47	
November, 1939	54	46		East Central	49	51	
January 18, 1940	54	46	15%	West Central	51	49	
March 3, 1940	55	45	16	South	75	25	
				West	59	41	
January 21, 1940:				Independents*			
New England	44	56		(Jan. 14, '40)	31	29	38%
Mid-Atlantic	52	48		Labor Un. Mem.			
East Central	48	52		(Feb. 1, '40)	66	34	18
West Central	51	49		Negro voters			
South	75	25		1936	76	24	
West	60	40		(Feb. 4, '40)	66	34	
March 3, 1940:				Mid-West Farm			
Upper Income	36	64		voters			
Middle Income	51	49		(Mar. 17, '40)	46	54	18
Lower Income	69	31					

* Favor 3rd party, 2%

ROOSEVELT POPULARITY

In general, do you approve or disapprove today of
Roosevelt as President? (Feb. 4, '40—AIPO)

	<i>All</i>	<i>Negro</i>
	<i>Voters</i>	<i>Voters</i>
App.	63%	82%
Disapp.	37	18
No op.	12	10

THIRD TERM

Do you think President Roosevelt will run for a third term? (Feb. 18, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Dems.</i>	<i>Reps.</i>	<i>June '39</i>	<i>Nov. '39</i>
Yes	52%	57%	47%	48%	57%
No	48	43	53	52	43
Undecided	18				

Do you think he will be reelected if he runs? (Feb. 18, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Dems.</i>	<i>Reps.</i>	<i>June '39</i>	<i>Nov. '39</i>
Yes	60%	80%		45%	56%
No	40	20	1 in 3	55	44
Undecided	10				

If President Roosevelt runs for a third term, will you vote for him? (Dates as indicated—AIPO)

	Yes	No	No op.		Yes	No	No op.
May, 1939	33%	67%		Independents			
August, 1939	40	60		(Jan. 14, '40)	47%	53%	13%
September, 1939	43	57		Labor Un. Mem.			
October, 1939	43	57		(Feb. 1, '40)	59	41	10
November, 1939	43	57		Midwest Farmers			
Jan. 11, '40	46	54	9%	(Mar. 17, '40)	37	63	
Mar. 12, '40	47	53	11	Authors			
Democrats				(Mar. 24, '40)	53	47	
(Jan. 11, '40)	79	21		Who's Who			
Republicans				(Mar. 24, '40)	21	79	
(Jan. 11, '40)	7	93		Lawyers			
				(Mar. 24, '40)	29	71	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES

(Democratic voters only) Whom would you like to see elected President in 1940? (Dates as indicated—AIPO)

	Nov. '39	Jan. 2, '40	Feb. 25, '40		Nov. '39	Jan. 2, '40	Feb. 25, '40
Roosevelt	83%	78%	78%	Farley	1%	1%	1%
Garner	8	13	10	Wheeler			1
McNutt	3	4	2	Others	2	1	2
Hull	3	2	6	Undecided	35	24	22
Murphy		1					

(Democratic voters only) If President Roosevelt is not a candidate, whom would you like to see elected? (Dates as indicated—AIPO)

	Nov. '39	Jan. 2, '40	Feb. 25, '40		Nov. '39	Jan. 2, '40	Feb. 25, '40
Garner	45%	58%	40%	Byrd			1%
Hull	13	8	25	Clark	1%	1%	
McNutt	18	17	11	Smith	2		
Farley	8	5	8	Barkley	1	1	
Wheeler		1	4	Ickes	1	1	
LaGuardia			3	Kennedy		1	
Jackson			1	Others	8	5	5
Murphy	3	2	1	Undecided	63	55	55
Bankhead			1				

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Feb. 25, '40	Upper Income	Middle Income	Lower Income		Upper Income	Middle Income	Lower Income
Garner	30%	37%	48%	LaGuardia	2%	3%	3%
Hull	34	29	17	Jackson	1	1	2
McNutt	12	11	10	All others	8	8	6
Farley	5	7	10	Undecided	47	53	59
Wheeler	8	4	4				

(Republican voters only) Whom would you like to see elected President in 1940? (Dates as indicated—AIPO)

	Nov. 1939	Jan. '40	Feb. '40	Mar. '40		Nov. 1939	Jan. '40	Feb. '40	Mar. '40
Dewey	39%	60%	56%	53%	Borah	3%	1%		
Vandenberg	26	16	17	19	Landon	3	1		
Taft	18	11	17	17	Gannett			1%	1%
Hoover	5	5	3	5	Lindbergh	1			
James		1		1	Other	4	3	6	4
Lodge	1	1			Undecided	49	37	36	40
Bricker		1							

January 7, 1940:

Age groups preferring Dewey

Under 30	30-49	50 and over
72%	61%	53%

When the vote of those who have no opinion on the question is included, the figures are:

	Dewey	Vanden- berg	Taft	Hoover	Gannett	James	All Others	Un- decided
Feb. '40*	35%	11%	11%	2%	1%		4%	36%
Mar. 24, '40	32	11	10	3	1	1%	2	40

* Published March 24, 1940

(Independent voters only) Whom would you like to see elected President in 1940? (Jan. 14, '40—AIPO)

	Roosevelt	Dewey	Garner	Vanden- berg	Taft	Hull	McNutt	La Guardia	Hoover	Others	No op.
	47%	19%	10%	6%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	11%	38%

(Republican voters only) Which of these three candidates do you think would have the best chance of getting elected President—Senator Taft, Thomas Dewey or Senator Vandenberg? (Feb. 11, '40—AIPO)

Dewey	Taft	Vandenberg	No Op.
59%	21%	20%	26%

(Mid-Western Republicans) If it came to a choice between Thomas Dewey and Arthur Vandenberg for President this year, which one would you prefer? (Mar. 24, '40—AIPO)

Dewey	45%
Vandenberg	33
Undecided	22

Who is your choice for our next President among these four Democratic or these four Republican possibilities? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

<i>Democrats</i>		<i>Republicans</i>	
Franklin D. Roosevelt	30.6%	Dist. Att'y Thomas Dewey	9.1%
Vice-President Garner	4.5	Senator Vandenberg	4.9
Secretary of State Hull	2.9	Senator Taft	3.9
Paul V. McNutt	2.1	Ex-President Herbert Hoover	1.6
Other Democratic possibilities mentioned	0.5	Other Republican possibilities mentioned	1.3
Don't know but want Dem.	8.0	Don't know but want Repub.	12.7
Total Democratic		Total Republican	33.5%
Other possibilities (of neither party)		0.1%	
Don't know (candidate or party)		14.3	
Wouldn't answer		3.5	

<i>Democrats:</i>	<i>North-east</i>	<i>Middle west</i>	<i>North-west</i>	<i>South-east</i>	<i>South-west</i>	<i>Mountain</i>	<i>Pacific</i>
Roosevelt	26.9%	23.6%	18.7%	49.4%	40.3%	26.9%	33.8%
Garner	3.1	3.6	3.3	6.2	9.2	4.5	4.9
Hull	2.5	1.7	1.4	7.4	0.2	1.3	3.7
McNutt	1.4	3.9	1.7	2.1	1.0	1.9	1.7
Other	0.7	0.3	0.9	1.0	—	—	0.3
Unnamed Dem.	4.7	5.5	4.9	12.8	23.8	7.1	4.6
TOTAL	39.3%	38.6%	30.9%	78.9%	74.5%	41.7%	49.0%

<i>Republicans:</i>	<i>North-east</i>	<i>Middle west</i>	<i>North-west</i>	<i>South-east</i>	<i>South-west</i>	<i>Mountain</i>	<i>Pacific</i>
Dewey	13.7%	7.6%	10.1%	2.9%	1.4%	10.9%	16.0%
Vandenberg	5.9	8.1	5.3	1.5	1.0	1.3	3.7
Taft	3.9	6.8	5.4	1.0	0.7	1.3	4.6
Hoover	2.5	1.0	1.2	0.8	0.2	0.6	4.3
Other	2.4	1.3	0.9	0.4	—	0.6	1.7
Unnamed Rep.	16.4	12.7	24.5	4.1	2.8	14.7	9.2
TOTAL	44.8%	37.5%	47.4%	10.7%	6.1%	29.4%	39.5%

Would you favor having Colonel Lindbergh in some high public office such as Secretary of War? (Jan. '40—FOR.)	Yes	26.3%
	No	54.4
	Don't care	5.4
	Don't know	13.9

(If yes) Would you favor him for the presidency? (Jan. '40—FOR.)	Yes	25.6%
	No	60.3
	Don't know	14.1

2. ECONOMIC

ADVERTISING

Which of the following products generally have the most honest advertising? The least honest? (Mar. '40—FOR.)

<i>Most Honest</i>		<i>Least Honest</i>	
Automobiles	30.6%	Cigarettes	22.0%
Insurance	24.5	Drugs	21.4
Cigarettes	11.3	Liquor	20.9
Drugs	7.0	Insurance	4.5
Liquor	4.1	Automobiles	3.7
All equally honest	9.2	All equally dishonest	7.2
Don't know	20.2	Don't know	24.8

AGRICULTURE

Considering costs of production, do you think this (current price of chief cash crop or product) is a fair price? (Mar. 17, '40—AIPO)

	<i>All Farmers</i>	<i>Wheat growers</i>	<i>Corn growers</i>	<i>Hog raisers</i>	<i>Cotton growers</i>	<i>Tobacco growers</i>
Yes	36%	25%	45%	11%	11%	32%
No	64	75	55	89	89	68

(Those answering "no" above) What do you consider a fair price? (Mar. 17, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Wheat per bu.</i>	<i>Corn per bu.</i>	<i>Hogs per lb.</i>	<i>Cotton per lb.</i>	<i>Tobacco per lb.</i>
Farmer's idea of fair price (Average)	\$1.12	\$.69	\$.08	\$.15	\$.18
Actual price on the farm (Feb. 15)	.84	.55	.05	.10	.14
Parity prices (Feb. 15)	1.13	.82	.09	.16	.15

Do you think the present administration's program, as a whole, has helped or hurt farmers? (Mar. 17, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Helped</i>	<i>Hurt</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>No op.</i>
All U.S. farmers	66%	22%	12%	9%
Midwest farmers only*	64	20	16	9

* (Ohio, Ind., Ill., Mich., Wis., Minn., Iowa, Kan., Neb., Mo., N.D., S.D.)

	<i>Good</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>No op.</i>
Do you think Henry Wallace has done a good job or a poor job as Secretary of Agriculture? (Mar. 17, '40—AIPO)			
All U.S. farmers	73%	27%	33%
Midwest farmers only	68	32	32

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Do you think that general business conditions have improved, grown worse, or stayed the same during the past few months?

Do you think employment in general has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same during the last months? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

<i>Business Conditions</i>		<i>Employment</i>			<i>Middle west</i>	<i>South west</i>
Improved	42.5%	Increased	41.3%	Employment increased	51.5%	25.0%
Same	34.1	Same	33.5	Employment same	27.4	34.0
Grown worse	12.0	Decreased	10.8	Employment decreased	8.9	18.3
Don't know	11.4	Don't know	14.4	Don't know	12.2	22.7

	<i>Prosperous</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Negroes</i>	<i>Executives</i>	<i>Unem- ployed</i>	<i>Farm Labor</i>
Business improved	56.9%	34.5%	23.7%	71.7%	38.1%	25.2%
Employment increased	49.3	34.1	27.4	66.2	38.1	29.4
Business the same	23.3	38.4	39.3	19.2	33.2	47.6
Employment the same	28.5	37.3	36.5	24.2	34.1	41.2
Business worse	9.0	12.1	16.9	7.6	18.5	14.6
Employment decreased	5.7	15.4	19.2	4.5	21.5	18.1
Don't know about business	10.8	15.0	20.1	1.5	10.2	12.6
Don't know about employment	16.5	13.2	16.9	5.1	6.3	11.3

EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE PROBLEMS

Do you think the Wagner Labor Act should be revised, repealed or left unchanged? (Dates as indicated—AIPQ)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Dems.</i>	<i>Reps.</i>	<i>May '38</i>	<i>Nov. '38</i>	<i>Mar. '39</i>	<i>Nov. '39</i>
Revised	53%	50%	58%	43%	52%	48%	37%
Repealed	18	10	27	19	18	18	18
Left unchanged	29	40	15	38	30	34	45
No opinion	58						

Do you think that the interests of employers and employees are, by their very nature, opposed, or are they basically the same? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Pros- perous</i>	<i>Lower Middle Class</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Exec- utives</i>	<i>White collar Workers</i>	<i>Factory Labor</i>	<i>Unem- ployed</i>
The same	56.2%	73.9%	58.8%	44.4%	80.2%	69.8%	41.3%	45.1%
Opposed	24.8	17.8	25.4	29.0	15.3	23.1	37.3	29.2
Don't know	19.0	8.3	15.8	26.6	4.5	7.1	21.4	25.7

Which one of these statements comes closest to describing your own point of view? (Mar. '40—FOR.)

	<i>Total</i>
If a business pays top wages, it is fully entitled to keep for its stockholders any amount of profit it can earn.	36.6%
If a business pays top wages, it should pay a certain fixed per cent to stockholders, and everything over that should be divided somehow between workers and stockholders.	36.8

Regardless of how much the profits are, stockholders are entitled only to a certain fixed per cent, and everything over that should be distributed among the workers.

Don't know.

17.7

11.9

	<i>Pros- perous</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Stock- holders</i>	<i>Nonstock- holders</i>	<i>Exec- utives</i>	<i>Factory Labor</i>
All profits to stockholders	56.5%	21.3%	47.0%	30.5%	51.1%	18.4%
Profit sharing after dividends	34.0	36.7	38.8	36.5	39.3	45.6
All profits to labor, after dividends	5.9	25.2	9.9	19.5	7.9	27.2
Don't know	3.6	16.8	4.3	13.5	1.7	8.8

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

The President proposes a 30% (about one-third) reduction in payments by the Government to help farmers. Do you approve or disapprove of this cut? (Feb. 18, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Dems.</i>	<i>Reps.</i>	<i>Small</i>			<i>Upper</i>		
				<i>Farm</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Lower</i>
Approve	52%	45%	63%	45%	53%	54%	69%	52%	45%
Disapprove	48	55	37	55	47	46	31	48	55

(No op. 14%)

President Roosevelt proposes an increase of 28% (about one-fourth) in spending for national defense. Do you approve or disapprove of this increase? (Feb. 18, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Dems.</i>	<i>Reps.</i>	<i>Small</i>			<i>Upper</i>		
				<i>Farm</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Lower</i>
Approve	79%	85%	72%	77%	80%	80%	75%	78%	83%
Disapprove	21	15	28	23	20	20	25	22	17

(No op. 8%)

The President proposes a 28% (about one-fourth) reduction in Federal Government spending for relief. Do you approve or disapprove of this cut? (Feb. 18, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Dems.</i>	<i>Reps.</i>	<i>Small</i>			<i>Upper</i>		
				<i>Farm</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Lower</i>
Approve	59%	49%	73%	72%	61%	55%	79%	67%	38%
Disapprove	41	51	27	28	39	45	21	33	62

(No op. 9%)

The President proposes a 21% (about one-fifth) reduction in Federal Government spending for public works. Do you approve or disapprove of this cut? (Feb. 18, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Dems.</i>	<i>Reps.</i>	<i>Small</i>			<i>Upper</i>		
				<i>Farm</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Lower</i>
Approve	62%	52%	74%	71%	64%	58%	79%	68%	44%
Disapprove	38	48	26	29	36	42	21	32	56

(No op. 11%)

Which political party do you think is more likely to balance the Federal Government's budget in the next four years—the Republicans or the Democrats? (Feb. 22, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Reps. more likely</i>	<i>Dems. more likely</i>	<i>Neither</i>	<i>No Op.</i>
Total	42%	23%	35%	16%
Dems.	15	41	44	
Reps.	75	4	21	

Suppose there were two candidates for United States Senator in your state. One candidate promises to vote to reduce all Federal government spending. The other promises to vote to spend more Federal government money in your state. Other things being equal, which candidate would you vote for? (Mar. 5, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Upper Income</i>	<i>Middle Income</i>	<i>Lower Income</i>
Spending candidate	36%	19%	31%	51%
Economy candidate	64	81	69	49
No opinion	13			

WPA AND RELIEF

Do you think people on WPA should have the right to strike? Yes 15%
No 85
No op. 8

Should people on WPA be allowed to form WPA unions? Yes 21%
(Jan. 9, '40—AIPO) No 79
No op. 11

Do you think the government should provide for all people who have no other means of obtaining a living? (Mar. '40—FOR.)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Prosperous</i>	<i>Upper Middle</i>	<i>Lower Middle</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Yes	65.1%	48.2%	55.7%	64.5%	73.9%	82.8%
No	27.8	45.3	37.7	28.7	18.4	9.1
Don't know	7.1	6.5	6.6	6.8	7.7	8.1

(If yes) Would you still be in favor of this if it meant: (Mar. '40—FOR.)

	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>DK</i>
Higher taxes for business	37.0%	51.5%	11.5%
Higher taxes for yourself	41.5	47.5	11.0
Higher prices for the things you buy	41.8	47.8	10.4
More government competition with industry	50.5	28.5	21.0
That labor would be deprived of the right to strike	52.6	27.5	19.9
End of the capitalistic system	63.1	13.0	23.9
That government tells you what you must work at—assigns you to your job	72.8	12.7	14.5

3. SOCIAL

AMERICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Which one of the following most nearly represents your opinion of the American form of government? (Mar. '40—FOR.)

	Pros-		Upper	Lower			North Pacific	
	Total	perous	Middle	Middle	Poor	Negro	east	Coast
Our form of government, based on the Constitution, is as near perfect as it can be, and no important changes should be made in it.	64.2%	79.9%	71.4%	64.1%	58.4%	49.6%	71.2%	55.3%

The Constitution has served its purpose well, but it has not kept up with the times and should be thoroughly revised to make it fit present-day needs.

19.2	14.2	19.8	20.5	18.6	16.7	18.2	26.6
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The systems of private capitalism and democracy are breaking down, and we might as well accept the fact that sooner or later we shall have to have a new form of government.

5.2	2.4	3.7	5.2	7.6	5.6	3.3	11.5	-
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Don't know.

11.4	3.5	5.5	10.2	15.4	28.1	7.3	6.6
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BIRTH CONTROL

Would you approve or disapprove of having government health clinics furnish birth control information to married people who want it? (Jan. 23, '40—AIPO)

	App. Disapp. No op.		
Total	77%	23%	11%
50 yrs. & over	65	35	
Under 30 yrs.	85	15	

DIES COMMITTEE

Which of the following do you consider more important for the Dies Committee to investigate—Communist activities in this country or Nazi activities in this country? (Jan. 4, '40—AIPO)

Comm. 70%
Nazi 30
No op. 22

FREE SPEECH

Do you think that in America anybody should be allowed to speak on any subject any time he wants to, or do you think there are times when free speech should be prohibited or certain subjects or speakers prohibited? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Prosperous</i>	<i>Poor</i>
Anybody, any subject, any time	49.2%	47.5%	52.1%
Prohibit some	43.9	51.6	38.7
Don't know	6.9	0.9	9.2
<i>(If prohibit some) What subjects?</i>			
Socialism, communism, nazism, and other isms	40.2%		
Subjects against our Constitu- tion or form of government	39.2		
War, foreign, or other propa- ganda	11.4		
Subjects concerning religion and morals	8.6		
Un-American subjects	7.9		
Subjects concerning labor, strikes, or likely to cause riot	5.3		
Politics	2.1		
Subjects against the President	2.0		
Other	4.4		
<i>(If prohibit some) What speakers?</i>			
		Browder, communists, reds, rad- icals, Thomas, socialists	40.0%
		Kuhn, Bund leaders, Nazis, Fascists	17.9
		Anyone speaking against our form of government	15.2
		Foreigners, aliens	13.4
		Propagandists, agitators, trouble- makers	9.8
		Poorly informed, crackpots	3.2
		Lewis, Green, Bridges, labor leaders	3.0
		Father Coughlin	2.8
		Other	13.4

LIQUOR REGULATION

Do you think liquor regulations in your community are too strict, not strict enough or about right? (Jan. 21, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>New Eng. & Mid-Atl.</i>	<i>East Cent.</i>	<i>West Cent.</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>Small Farm</i>	<i>Small Town</i>	<i>City</i>
Not strict enough	51%	39%	57%	56%	62%	53%	63%	53%	46%
About right	42	49	39	37	31	42	34	42	45
Too strict	7	12	4	7	7	5	5	5	9
No opinion	9								

If the question of national prohibition should come up again, would you vote to make the country dry? (Jan. 21, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Dry</i>	<i>Wet</i>		<i>Dry</i>	<i>Wet</i>
Total*	34%	66%	Small Town	43%	57%
New England	27	73	Farm	48	52
Mid-Atlantic	23	77	50 years and over	43	57
East Central	37	63	Young group	28	72
West Central	41	59	December, 1938	36	64
South	50	50	February, 1938	34	66
West	32	68	1936	33	67
City	27	73	1933-34	30	70

*No op. 5%

Do you think young people would be better off if we had national prohibition again? (Jan. 21, '40—AIPO)	Yes	42%
	No	58
	No op.	8

Do you think drunkenness is increasing in your community? (Jan. 21, '40—AIPO)

<i>Inc.</i>	<i>Dec.</i>	<i>About the Same</i>	<i>No. op.</i>
39%	24%	37%	8%

LYNCHING LAW

Under the proposed Federal law against lynching, the Federal Government would (1) fine and imprison local police officers who fail to protect a prisoner from a lynch mob and (2) make a county in which a lynching occurs pay a fine up to \$10,000 to the victim or his family. Do you approve or disapprove of this law? (Feb. 25, '40—AIPO)

App.	55%
Disapp.	45
No op.	9

NEWS COLUMNISTS AND COMMENTATORS

Who is your favorite newspaper columnist? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Prosperous</i>	<i>Lower Middle</i>	<i>Poor</i>
Walter Winchell	17.9%	8.5%	20.6%	27.3%
Dorothy Thompson	9.5	15.2	8.0	3.6
Boake Carter	6.1	5.6	5.6	7.2
Walter Lippmann	5.9	11.4	5.3	1.6
Heywood Broun	5.0	4.4	4.6	4.8
Westbrook Pegler	4.7	5.6	4.3	4.8
David Lawrence	4.7	4.6	5.1	2.8
Other*	46.2	44.7	46.5	47.9

(* Chief mentions among "other" are Hugh Johnson, Pearson and Allen, Charles Driscoll, Edwin C. Hill, Eleanor Roosevelt, Raymond Clapper, and the Sullivans, Mark and Ed. The rest are mostly local seers.)

How often do you read his (or her) column (Jan. '40—FOR.)

Daily	52.0%	Several times weekly	28.4%	Occasionally	19.6%
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Who is your favorite radio news commentator? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

Lowell Thomas	24.8%	Boake Carter	6.0%
H. V. Kaltenborn	20.8	Raymond Gram Swing	3.8
Edwin C. Hill	9.3	Elmer Davis	3.5
Walter Winchell	6.8	Other	25.0

PERSONALIA

What word would you use to name the class in America you belong to? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

Upper	1.6%	Other upper middle	0.8%
Other upper	1.3	Middle	38.6
Upper middle	1.7	Other middle	5.5

Lower middle	0.4%	Business, executive, profes-	
Lower	1.2	sional, white collar	2.0%
Other lower	2.8	Other miscellaneous answers	5.7
Working, laboring	10.6	Don't know	27.5
Unemployed, idle, unfortunate	0.3		

(*Asked of the 56.5 per cent who did not use the actual words "upper," "middle," or "lower"*) If you had to describe the class to which you belong with one of these three words, which would you pick?

	Percentage of Answers	Percentage of Population Including Previous Answers
Upper class	10.6%	7.6%
Middle class	68.2	79.2
Lower class	11.9	7.9
Don't know	9.3	5.3

People who are actually:

	Prosperous	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Poor	Negro
Answered that they are:					
Upper class	23.6%	7.9%	4.6%	4.5%	16.1%
Middle class	74.7	89.0	89.4	70.3	35.7
Lower class	0.3	0.6	3.1	19.1	26.2
Don't know	1.4	2.5	2.9	6.1	22.0

Would you like to go into any kind of business for yourself? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Married Men	Single Men	Single Women
Yes	50.7%	49.7%	64.4%	39.8%
Depends	7.6	7.8	6.5	7.8
No	38.1	38.8	26.3	48.1
Don't know	3.6	3.7	2.8	4.3

(If "Yes" or "Depends") Do you think you will ever actually try it? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Married Men	Single Men	Single Women
Yes	46.5%	43.8%	62.6%	33.6%
Depends	25.0	25.3	21.3	29.5
No	20.6	22.0	11.2	29.1
Don't know	7.9	8.9	4.9	7.8

Do you think your opportunities to succeed are better than, or not so good as, those your father had? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

Better	58.5%
Same	13.0
Not so good	21.5
Not comparable	2.3
Don't know	4.7

GALLUP AND FORTUNE POLLS

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Do you think that you are better or less prepared to get ahead than your father was? (Feb. '40—FOR.)	Better	70.8%
	Same	13.5
	Less	9.6
	Not comparable	1.6
	Don't know	4.5

Do you think that your son's opportunities to succeed will be better than, or not so good as those you have? (Feb. '40—FOR.)	Better	59.9%
	Same	10.3
	Not so good	15.0
	Not comparable	2.3
	Don't know	12.5

Do you think that the years ahead hold for you, personally, a good chance for advancement or the probability of no improvement over your present position? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Aged 17-25	Aged 26-40	Over 40	Prosperous	Poor
A good chance for advancement	56.3%	73.9%	64.6%	41.3%	58.3%	46.9%
The probability of no improvement	33.3	15.8	26.1	47.3	30.9	41.5
Don't know	10.4	10.3	9.3	11.4	10.8	11.6

What do you really think would be a perfectly satisfactory income for you? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

An hourly or daily wage 3.1%

An annual income (in dollars)

of:		3,500- 3,999	4.8%
Under 500	2.0	4,000- 4,999	3.1
500- 999	6.0	5,000- 5,999	5.9
1,000-1,499	12.5	6,000- 9,999	3.9
1,500-1,999	13.3	10,000-14,999	3.0
2,000-2,499	13.0	15,000-49,999	1.9
2,500-2,999	7.5	50,000 and over	0.3
3,000-3,499	6.9	Don't know	12.8

(The following tabulation indicates the lowest incomes that would satisfy a majority of each class shown):

(In dollars)	Sex and marital status	Age	Income level	Occupation
1,000- 1,499	Single women		Negroes	Farm labor
1,500- 1,999			Poor	Miscellaneous
	Single men	17-25	Lower middle	Labor—Unemployed
2,000- 2,499				Factory labor
				Retired farm owners

2,500- 2,999	Married men 26-40	White collar
	Married women Over 40	Housekeepers
3,000- 3,499		Students
		Miscellaneous
		Proprietors
3,500- 4,499		
4,500- 4,999	Upper middle	
5,000-5,499		Professional
		Executives
5,500- 9,999		
10,000-14,999	Prosperous	

Do you think there should be a law limiting the amount of money any individual is allowed to earn in a year? (Mar. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Prosperous	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Poor	Negro
Yes	23.9%	10.3%	18.1%	23.5%	31.7%	31.5%
No	70.0	88.5	78.9	72.0	59.3	51.4
Don't know	6.1	1.2	3.0	4.5	9.0	17.1

(If "yes") What amount? (Mar. '40—FOR.)

	% of Total "Yes"	% of Population		% of Total "Yes"	% of Population
\$ 5,000 and under	12.4%	3.0%	50,001 to 75,000	4.8	1.1
5,001 to 10,000	8.2	2.0	75,001 to 95,000	0.4	0.1
10,001 to 15,000	3.5	0.8	95,001 to 100,000	8.2	2.0
15,001 to 20,000	2.4	0.6	100,001 to 200,000	1.0	0.2
20,001 to 25,000	4.3	1.0	200,001 to 500,000	1.7	0.4
25,001 to 45,000	1.2	0.3	Over \$500,000	1.6	0.4
45,001 to 50,000	8.5	2.0	Don't know	41.8	10.0

Do you now, or do you ever expect to, hire anybody to work for you at your home? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Prosperous	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Poor	Negro
Do now	27.1%	82.2%	54.2%	20.1%	4.5%	2.5%
Expect to	16.3	8.3	20.8	20.2	11.9	4.2
Don't expect to	51.8	8.3	20.5	53.8	79.4	88.6
Don't know	4.8	1.2	4.5	5.9	4.2	4.7

(If you have children) Have you sent, or do you intend to send, your children to college? (Feb. '40—FOR.)*

	Total	Aged 17-25	Aged 26-40	Over 40	Pros- perous	Poor
If sons:						
Have	19.4%		2.9%	31.3%	50.8%	5.5%
Haven't	21.5		3.2	34.8	11.9	25.8
Intend to	36.8	69.4%	59.6	19.7	39.0	27.6
Don't intend to	15.6	14.6	18.2	14.2	1.7	27.8
Don't know	11.4	16.0	18.2	6.8	3.4	18.2

* Answers on sending girls to college were almost the same as those for boys, tabulated above, with no differences greater than 8 per cent.

If you had your choice, which would you prefer: (Feb. '40—FOR.)

	Married Single Execu- Factory Unem- Total Men Men tives Labor ployed					
A job that pays a high wage, but with a fifty-fifty chance of getting promoted or fired						
	61.0%	59.1%	69.8%	87.0%	52.6%	51.3%
A steady job earning just enough to get by on, but with no prospect for advancement	33.1	34.6	25.4	8.1	44.8	45.0
Depends	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.7	0.9	2.1
Don't know	2.8	3.1	1.5	1.2	1.7	1.6

Would you prefer the government or private business as an employer? (Feb. '40—FOR.)	Private business	50.0%
	Government	39.5
	Don't know	10.5

Do you feel that you, as a citizen, have any obligation to pass on anything to the next generation? (Feb. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Prosperous	Upper Middle	Lower Middle	Poor	Negro
Yes	69.9%	88.3%	81.5%	70.8%	57.6%	49.8%
No	15.2	8.4	10.1	16.1	21.4	14.5
Don't know	15.2	3.3	8.4	13.1	21.0	35.7

(If "yes") What?	Good citizenship and political environment	30.0%
	Moral and ethical qualities	29.5
	Economic and social environment	20.7
	Culture and education	20.2
	Material wealth, property	10.3
	Health and other	15.0
	Don't know	4.9

NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTIONS

Are you going to make any New Year's resolutions this year? (Jan. 7, '40—AIPO)	Yes: Appr. 1 in 4
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Results in order of popularity:

<i>Men and Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1. Better myself in business or job	1. Do less drinking or go on the wagon	1. Save more money
2. Save more money	2. Better myself in business or job	2. Better myself in my job and other responsibilities
3. Reduce smoking or stop smoking	3. Do less smoking or stop smoking	3. Improve my disposition
4. Reduce drinking or stop drinking	4. Save more money	4. Go to church oftener
5. Improve my character	5. Improve my character	5. Improve my character
	6. Improve my disposition (at home, at the office, etc.)	6. Do less smoking or stop smoking
	7. Stay out of debt, or pay off what I owe	7. Keep more regular hours
	8. Make more effort to land a job	8. Improve my mind ("read more books," etc.)
	9. Go to church oftener	9. Manage my home and children better
	10. Keep more regular hours	10. Be more punctual ("get there on time")

MRS. ROOSEVELT

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Mrs. Roosevelt has conducted herself as "First Lady"? (Mar. 7, '40—AIPO)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Upper Income</i>	<i>Middle Income</i>	<i>Lower Income</i>	<i>Under 30</i>	<i>30-50</i>	<i>50 and Over</i>
Approve	68%	56%	68%	75%	77%	70%	61%
Disapprove	32	44	32	25	23	30	39
							(No op. 14%)

Part Two: The War in Europe**1. AMERICAN EXPECTATIONS****U.S. INVOLVEMENT**

		<i>Feb. '40</i>	<i>Oct. '39</i>
Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe, or do you think we will stay out of the war? (Feb. 15, '40—AIPO)	Go in	32%	46%
	Stay out	68	54
	No op.	10	13

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Executives</i>	<i>Factory Workers</i>
Regardless of what you hope, what do you think the chances are that the U.S. will be drawn into this war? (Jan. '40—FOR.)			
Sure	9.9%	7.6%	19.1%
Probable	29.2	25.8	26.6
Fifty-Fifty	22.8	23.2	24.7
Unlikely	22.2	35.9	17.9
Impossible	4.0	3.5	3.1
Don't know	11.9	4.0	8.6

(Unless "unlikely" or "impossible" or "don't know") How soon do you think we shall get into it? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

Under 6 mo	6 mo. to 1 yr.	1 yr.	1 to 2 yrs.	2 yrs. or more	Don't know
9.4%	20.4%	19.2%	9.4%	13.0%	28.6%

(Unless "impossible" or "don't know" to the chances-for-war question)

If we are drawn in, do you think it will be because:*

Hitler will have done so many things that feeling will be aroused against him.....	34.5%
Business interests will have engineered it for their own profit.....	21.9
The government will have worked us into a position where we can't help it.....	16.1
British and French propaganda will have stirred us up.....	14.0
The majority of people think it is necessary for our own good.....	10.9
We must defend ourselves or our rights.....	3.3
We must help democracies.....	1.2
Other	2.2
Don't know	6.7

* Multiple answers account for total of more than 100%

GERMAN THREAT TO U.S.

If Germany wins a decisive victory over France and	Yes	61.2%
England, do you think she will be a threat to the United	No	27.3
States? (Jan. '40—FOR.)	DK	11.5

(If "yes") In what way?*

Military threat—invasion of U.S.	42.1%
Germany will want to conquer whole world	17.9
Commercial and economic threat	13.8
Threaten our democratic government through propaganda	12.6
Will threaten through our neighboring countries	7.0
Military threat to our territories and possessions	1.9
Germany would make demands on U.S.	1.8
Other	4.3
Don't know	4.3

* Multiple answers account for total of more than 100%

2. AMERICAN SYMPATHIES

Which side do you want to see win the present	Allies	84%
war—England and France, or Germany? (Mar 31,	Germany	1
'40—AIPO)	Neutral & DK	15

Which nation do you regard as the worst influence in Europe?* (Mar. '40—FOR.)

Germany	55.3%	Italy	1.2%
Russia	34.2	France	0.3
England	1.8	Don't know	12.9

* Multiple answers account for total of more than 100%

Which of these statements comes closest to your own idea of Great Britain?
(Jan. '40—FOR.)

Great Britain has no greater claim upon our sympathy than any other nation, because she has grown great by employing practically all of the means of aggression, oppression, and secret diplomacy that we criticize in such other nations as Germany	9.8%
Britain is probably as decent as any nation is likely to be, but our national interests call for going it alone and being on guard against British propaganda	25.5
The British probably are no angels, but as a practical matter our vital interests are tied upon the maintenance of the Empire, because her navy is an additional protector of our trade and commercial interests the world over	16.2
The British do have a special claim on our sympathies because they are closest to ourselves by ties of blood and language, and because they too are defenders of democracy	38.3
Don't know	10.2

3. U.S. POLICY

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

If we do go to war, what do you think should be done with conscientious objectors (people who have either moral or religious scruples against war)?
(Jan. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Men	Women
Exempt them from military service	13.2%	12.1%	14.3%
Let them serve in a military job where they don't actually have to fight	37.1	36.2	38.1
Make them fight	24.1	26.5	21.7
Put them in jail	7.6	11.0	4.2
Shoot them	1.3	2.0	0.6
Other	2.0	2.5	1.4
Don't know	14.7	9.7	19.7

LOANS TO ALLIES

If it looked as though England and France would lose the war unless we loaned the money to buy war supplies here, would you be in favor of lending them money?	Yes	55%
	No	45
	No op.	6

LOANS TO FINLAND

Some members of Congress favor our government lending Finland money to buy farm products and other non-military supplies in this country. Others say this might get us into war. Do you think the government should lend money to Finland? (Feb. 6, '40—AIPO)	Yes	58%
	No	42
	No op.	9

(Those answering "yes" to above question) Would you favor the United States government lending money to Finland for airplanes, arms and other war materials? (Feb. 6, '40—AIPO)

Yes	39%
No	61
DK	12

Would you approve or disapprove of letting Finland raise money for her war against Russia by selling bonds to Americans? (Mar. 10, '40—AIPO)

	Total	Dem.	Rep.	New Eng. & East Mid-Atl.	Cent.	West Cent.	South	West
Yes	73%	72%	75%	73%	74%	70%	80%	69%
No	27	28	25	27	26	30	20	31

(No op. 10%)

LUDLOW REFERENDUM

Should the Constitution be changed to require a national vote before Congress could draft men for service overseas? (Jan. 28, '40—AIPO)

	Total*	New Eng. & East Mid-Atl.	Cent.	West Cent.	South	West	Sept. '39	Mar. '39
Yes	60%	60%	62%	63%	50%	59%	51%	61%
No	40	40	38	37	50	41	49	39

* No opinion 5%

ROOSEVELT FOREIGN POLICY

Do you approve or disapprove of President Roosevelt's policies with regard to the European situation up to now? (Mar. '40—FOR.)

	July 1938 installment	November 1939 installment	November supplement	Present installment
Approve	50.0%	69.2%	56.2%	68.6%
Partly approve	—	11.7	18.5	12.1
Disapprove	15.0	5.8	13.9	6.4
Don't know	35.0	13.3	11.4	12.9

(If disapprove or partly approve) Is it because he has been too friendly toward England, France, or Finland, or not friendly enough, or why? (Mar. '40—FOR.)*

Too friendly toward England	38.7%
Too friendly toward France	29.8
Too friendly toward Finland	17.3
Not friendly enough toward England	7.9
Not friendly enough toward France	8.0
Not friendly enough toward Finland	11.2
Distrust and dislike Roosevelt	5.8

Too much meddling in foreign affairs	11.0
Should not have repealed arms embargo	8.2
Too friendly with Russia	2.0
Inconsistent and puzzling policies	1.6
Other	5.7
Don't know	14.8

* Multiple answers account for a total of 162%

RUSO-GERMAN MILITARY ALLIANCE

If Germany and Russia form an active military alliance, which one of these statements comes closest to describing what you think the U.S. should do? (Mar. '40—FOR.)

	Mar. '40	Oct. '39 Supp.	Dec. '39 Supp.
Enter the war at once against them	4.3%	3.3%	2.5%
Help Allies (and Poland) and/or Finland by means short of war now	44.3	33.4	23.6
Trade with all on cash-and-carry basis	28.9	29.3	37.5
Trade with no one who is at war	12.8	24.7	29.9
Other	0.6	3.5	2.6
Don't know	9.1	5.8	3.9

U.S. MILITARY PARTICIPATION

		Yes	No	DK
If it appears that Germany is defeat- ing England and France, should the United States declare war on Germany and send our army and navy abroad to fight? (Feb. 20, '40—AIPO)	Feb. '40	23%	77%	5%
	Oct. '39	29	71	8
	Sept. '39	44	56	10

If a major foreign power actually threatened to take over any of the following countries by armed invasion, would you be willing to see the U.S. come to its rescue with armed forces? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

	Jan. '39	Jan. '40		Jan. '39	Jan. '40
Canada:	Yes 73.1%	74.2%	Brazil:	Yes 27.1%	36.8%
	No 17.3	14.6		No 53.7	40.0
	DK 9.6	11.2		DK 19.2	23.2
Hawaii:*	Yes —	55.1	Bermuda:*	Yes —	33.9
	No —	25.3		No —	39.9
	DK —	19.6		DK —	26.2
The Philippines:	Yes 46.3	54.0	Belgium:*	Yes —	7.9
	No 37.2	26.4		No —	72.5
	DK 16.5	19.6		DK —	19.6

Mexico:	Yes	43.0	54.5
	No	40.6	28.4
	DK	16.4	17.1

* These countries were not included in last year's question.

4. PEACE PROPOSALS

PEACE CONFERENCE

Do you think now is the right time for the leading nations of the world to have a conference to try to settle Europe's problems and end the war between Germany and England and France? (Mar. 10, '40—AIPO)	Yes	58%
	No	42
	No op.	13

If such a conference is held, should the United States take part in it? (Mar. 10, '40—AIPO)	Yes	55%
	No	45
	No op.	9

If Hitler offers to make peace this spring, do you think England and France should meet with the Germans and try to end the war? (Mar. 10, '40—AIPO)	Yes	75%
	No	25
	No op.	9

CZECHO-SLOVAK QUESTION

If peace could be reached by letting Germany keep Czecho-Slovakia, would you favor this? (Mar. 10, '40—AIPO)	Yes	38%
	No	62
	No op.	15

POLISH QUESTION

If peace could be reached by letting Germany keep Poland? (Mar. 10, '40—AIPO)	Yes	30%
	No	70
	No op.	12

SEVERITY OF PEACE

If it is quite clear that the Allies are beating Germany, do you think they should stop if Germany asks for peace or do you think they should continue until Germany is so badly beaten that she will never again rise as a nation? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

	Total	Men	Women	Prosperous	Poor	Southwest	Pacific Coast
Keep going	57.1%	59.3%	54.9%	51.2%	59.6%	70.6%	45.1%
Stop	32.3	32.9	31.8	38.4	28.1	15.7	44.8
Don't know	10.6	7.8	13.3	10.4	12.3	13.7	10.1

If the Allies should win the war, what kind of peace should they make with Germany? (Jan. '40—FOR.)

One which will wipe Germany out completely as a nation and divide her up among the Allies so that she can never organize and start trouble again	19.2%
One which, while it will completely crush Hitler and his type of government, will not oppress the German nation or give them reason to let a man like Hitler gain control again	50.5
One which will leave Germany as a nation but completely disarmed and in some way prevented from making trouble	14.4
One which will give Germany back everything she owned before the last war and thereby put her on an equal footing with the other big European powers	5.0
Other solutions	1.5
Don't know	9.4

MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

Have you given any thought to what should be done to maintain world peace after the present European War is over? (Jan. 28, '40—AIPO)

Yes	34%
No	66

If so, in your opinion, what should be done? (Jan. 28, '40—AIPO)

I. Most frequently mentioned proposals:

A. Some kind of international organization, such as:

- (1) "United States of Europe"
- (2) "Union of the democracies"
- (3) "Revised and strengthened League of Nations"

B. Some kind of political, economic or moral reform, such as:

- (1) A better understanding among nations, based on principles of tolerance and Christianity
- (2) Getting rid of dictatorships in Germany and elsewhere and substituting governments "where the people would have more voice"
- (3) Economic readjustments such as the better division of world resources, removal of trade barriers and the sharing of colonies.

II. Less frequently mentioned proposals:

A. Dismember Germany by:

- (1) Dividing Germany up among the other nations of Europe
- (2) Splitting Germany into small states so it could never rise to threaten the peace of the world again
- (3) Making Germany disarm and never allow her to re-arm.

B. Other programs (in order of frequency):

- (1) Complete disarmament or sincere disarmament
- (2) A new attempt to create a World Court
- (3) A fairer peace settlement than was made at Versailles, including a recognition of the rights of small countries.
- (4) A strong and permanent "military alliance between England and France," with some voters occasionally including the United States in the proposal.
- (5) Re-division of Europe "into a few big countries that would absorb the smaller ones."

Part Three: Other International Issues

FAR EAST

Do you think our government should forbid the sale of arms, airplanes, gasoline, and other war materials to Japan? (Feb. 13, '40—AIPO)	Yes	75%
	No	25
	No op.	6

RECIPROCAL TRADE TREATIES

What is your understanding of the term "reciprocal trade treaties"? (Feb. 4, '40—AIPO)

10%—Understand

<i>(Those with an understanding of the term)</i> What is your personal opinion about Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade treaties?	Favor	71%
	Disapp.	29
	No op.	22

<i>(Those with an understanding of the term)</i> Do you think Congress should give Secretary Hull the power to make more such treaties?	Yes	57%
	No	43
	No op.	19

NOTE

Because of space limitations, it has been necessary to exclude from the preceding tabulation a number of special surveys conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion, based upon selective samples. A list of these follows:

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: Special surveys relating to party strength, third term, presidential preferences: of New York voters (Mar. 15, '40); of Pennsylvania voters (Mar. 20, '40); of California voters (Mar. 22, '40); authors and Who's Who (Mar. 24, '40); New Jersey voters (Mar. 27, '40); Massachusetts voters (Mar. 29, '40).

WAGNER ACT: Special survey of the legal profession (Mar. 20, '40).

BOOK REVIEWS

MOCK, JAMES R., and LARSON, CEDRIC, *Words That Won the War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939. 372 pp. (\$3.75)

This book has received such wide publicity through popular reviews that readers of the *QUARTERLY* must be acquainted with its general scope. By studying the extant portion of the records of the Committee on Public Information which are now preserved in the National Archives and by interviewing and corresponding with some of the men whom these records reflect, the authors have been able to present a rather detailed description of how that Committee functioned in the United States and throughout the world. These details help complete the picture whose broad outlines have been previously sketched in more general treatises and, in addition, the activities of Mr. George Creel himself are analyzed calmly in the light of the staggering difficulties that confronted him.

To students of public opinion the volume is of undoubted historical importance. It shows very specifically how the CPI successfully manipulated public opinion during the last war—one sees, for example, the administrative complexities involved and the types of appeals employed. It reveals that many of the profes-

sional propagandists still prominent in American life received invaluable experience in affecting people on a grand scale. It suggests how some of the ideas that continue to motivate people in Europe were reinforced by the work of the Committee or, in a few instances, can almost be said to have originated there. And in cool perspective it outlines the severe alterations in the democratic processes within the United States that war propaganda and military strategy required. The authors, therefore, accomplish their historical objective, while warning their readers concerning some of the inevitable shortcomings of this particular description.

The last, ten-page chapter devoted to "Blueprint for Tomorrow's CPI" raises the crucial problem for men and women in 1940. The problem is attacked merely by outlining some of the schemes that allegedly will be employed if and when "M-Day" comes, by pointing out that "the CPI is the clearly recognizable model for practically every plan of government public relations in the event of war," and by hinting that a new set of federal officials will profit from the experiences of the Committee. Such valuable prognostication, it is clear, combines an actuarial approach with common sense

and gives insight only into the probable propaganda machinery that may begin to function. It should be possible, in addition, to interpret the raw data offered by these 22-year-old records so that one might predict or even prescribe the content of the appeals which may have to be used in the future. The Kaiser—to mention the most obvious parallel—was the villain in 1917 and now Hitler is the target for hatred. Why and when is it necessary to epitomize the enemy with one figure? With which groups in society is such a device likely to be successful? How can a leader be made to appear more despicable? Questions like these cannot be answered systematically through history alone: more of social science is needed to state the underlying principles.

LEONARD W. DOOB
Yale University

MCCAMY, JAMES L., *Government Publicity, Its Practice in Federal Administration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. 275 pp. (\$2.50)

The problem of government publicity is one about which many people have speculated, but upon which few facts are known. The author has made a noteworthy contribution in widening the field of information on this subject.

The number of publicity specialists now employed by government indicates the importance of this phase of work. The author reports forty publicity agents attached to the Works Progress Administra-

tion; seventeen to the Social Security Board; fifteen to the Federal Housing Administration; ten for the Resettlement Administration; seven for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; and five for the Public Works Administration. Many areas remain to be explored. The volume, for example, does not touch upon the extensive use of existing commissions and special Congressional investigating committees in laying the propaganda backdrop for new legislation, such as the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of the utilities and the T.N.E.C. investigation of monopolies. The former resulted in the passage of the Utility Holding Company Act, and the latter, it is hoped by some groups, may justify the O'Mahoney Licensing Bill.

It is pointed out that "the new agencies are the ones most widely using publicity. Of the ten offices employing five or more specialists full time, six are new agencies."

The four older agencies employed an average of 5.25 full-time specialists, whereas the six new agencies employed an average of 15.6. Dr. McCamy believes that governmental publicity must be justified (a) "as not giving undue power to the executive branch in the formation of policy and (b) as serving the public with information that is useful in the deciding of public policy." He realizes that in some cases citizens might need protection from the bureaucrat who uses these powers for propaganda purposes, but some readers will not be convinced that his solution is very protective. Presumably we must trust that "the real protection of individuals against oppres-

sive administration, in other words, is in cultural factors, i.e., the mores of bureaucratic service." This has hardly been a protection against bureaucracy in other aspects of governmental service. Publicity may be so easily converted into propaganda and propaganda provides such direct and facile aid to political parties in power that his idealism seems more wishful than real.

The author has compiled much valuable factual information on the procedures, tactics, and practices of federal publicity. Particularly interesting are the chapters on "Media Chosen and Content," "Distribution of Federal Publicity," and "Measurement in Government Publicity."

In the chapter on "Co-ordination" it is suggested that "publicity offices should be organized to explain and promote specific subjects and objectives." He has in mind here the existing situation that twenty-four federal agencies supply information to the consumer, at least thirteen deal with land use, while some five agencies are concerned with housing. A second proposal is that "short of ideal reorganization, the President should stipulate regular meetings for the publicity agents dealing with kindred fields."

The last paragraph of this book is a concise, and probably the best, statement of the author's philosophy on governmental publicity:

"Administrative leadership is not the enemy of personal liberty, when liberty in definition is divorced from the obsession with rights sans duties. Instead, the chief hope of making the necessary social

adjustments to urban-industrial conditions lies in even more administrative authority under responsibility. The administrative publicist as an aid to the executive, skilled in using the instruments of persuasion and explanation, experienced in knowing what the public thinks and says, sensitive to the changing temper of audiences, and confined to the rôle of communicating policy but not making it, is no more a threat to personal freedom than is the responsible leadership which he serves. Liberty for the individual, as democrats hope to preserve it, is more likely to be drowned in the flood of publicity issued, not by bureaucrats but by demagogues who speak the people's language and serve other gods than freedom."

CHARLES C. ROHLFING
University of Pennsylvania

BENEŠ, EDUARD, *Democracy Today and Tomorrow*. New York: Macmillan, 1939. 244 pp. (\$3.00)

MACIVER, R. M., *Leviathan and the People*. Louisiana State University Press, 1939. 182 pp. (\$2.00)

Dr. Beneš, former President of Czechoslovakia, in a series of lectures at the University of Chicago, and Professor MacIver of Columbia University, in three lectures delivered at Louisiana State University, have espoused a political philosophy of the "golden mean." These lectures, now put forth as books, are attempts to rear a democratic credo on "the great middle ground" of a resurgent liberalism.

Professor MacIver points out that the Leviathan of Hobbes (this "mortal God," the State) has developed a split personality, appearing upon the contemporary scene both as democracy and totalitarianism. The democratic state is assigned the honorable rôle of Dr. Jekyll, whereas the totalitarian state, including both the fascist and the soviet varieties, plays the disreputable rôle of Mr. Hyde. In presenting this contrast, the author is thinking primarily not of transient institutions but of enduring principles. Democracy is said to differ in principle from totalitarianism, first, in delimiting the political sphere, and second, in legalizing political opposition. Thus it rejects both parts of Mussolini's slogan: "Nothing outside the State, nothing against the State." So long as it retains the principles of toleration and popular control, it may undergo profound institutional metamorphoses without losing its spiritual identity.

One kind of metamorphosis, however, seems beyond the author's comprehension. He confesses that he is "lost in a fog" when he tries to understand Professor Laski's statement that "a political democracy seeks, by its own inner impulses, to become a social and economic democracy." Although he believes that the state should possess humanitarian economic objectives, he suspects that "economic democracy" is no more than "a question-begging phrase" and insists that democracy, properly so-called, is merely "a type of *political* structure."

It would seem to the present reviewer that Professor MacIver is mis-

taken, and that the hope of the world lies in such a transformation as Professor Laski has envisaged. Political and economic institutions should eventually be fused in a new type of functional democracy, to achieve the equitable sharing of economic power and social privilege. Professor MacIver, in another context, recognizes that "the economic system is utterly inseparable from the political system"; and if this be the case, political and economic forms do in fact so interpenetrate that democracy can logically embrace them both.

Dr. Beneš, employing the term "democracy" in this broader sense, agrees with Professor Laski that it is necessary to transform "the old, purely political bourgeois democracy" into "a new kind of social and economic democracy." He reaches this conclusion after an extensive historical survey, which traces the rise of democracy and its ever-deepening conflict with authoritarianism. He believes that the French Revolution and the World War, despite the profound reaction which followed each of these upheavals, were mighty struggles to achieve a more democratic order, and that the same basic conflict is now continuing in the movement to free "the Fourth Estate," the workers and the peasants.

If democracy is to survive it must, he thinks, undergo a great transformation. It must extend its functions and augment its powers; it must reform its instrumentalities—the present party and voting system; it must replace "capitalist ex-

aggerations" and "the remnants of aristocracy" by democratic substitutes; and it must establish a federative reorganization of nationalities within a new international order. In achieving these objectives, it should employ "evolutionary" methods and avoid "communistic" extremes.

No reader who cares deeply for human freedom will disagree with the many admirable statements of Dr. Beneš and Professor MacIver. It would seem, however, that both authors seek to put new wine into old bottles. Dr. Beneš believes that democracy should be extended to the social and economic sphere but that we should "preserve in principle the old individualist *political* philosophy of the French Revolution." Dr. MacIver recognizes that governmental regulation must replace economic *laissez faire*, but wishes to preserve an individualism of thought and culture and opposes any pervasive transformation such as socialism. But perhaps it is not possible, or even desirable, thus to combine things new and old. Lest the old bottles burst with the fermentation of the new wine, we may be forced to prepare the new containers: a different concept of society and a different economic and political order. Perhaps some of the "extremist" solutions, which the authors rather indiscriminately class together as anti-democratic, may in the end be found to contain a few truths quite as salutary as the "golden mean."

MELVIN RADER
University of Washington

BARTLETT, F. C., GINSBERG, M., LINDGREN, E. J., and THOULESS, R. H. (editors), *The Study of Society: Methods and Problems*. New York: Macmillan, 1939. 498 pp. (\$3.50)

This book is an outgrowth of a series of informal meetings between certain British psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists. It was their concern to bring their respective sciences to bear upon the problems of a complex society. On the eve of the second world war, they apparently remained convinced that the long way around is the shortest way home. The decision, therefore, was to summarize the research done in various fields without much regard for social theory or immediate social applications. In spite of its title, the book contains relatively little of what in America would be called sociology. It is concerned but slightly with weighty issues which organize public opinion, and bears only indirectly on the processes by which public opinion is formed.

The essay by Pear on social psychology does touch briefly on attitudes, agencies of communication, propaganda, and war. Bartlett provides suggestions for study of group thinking. MacCurdy, discussing the relation of psychopathology to social psychology, makes stimulating comments concerning the social relativity of abnormality, unconscious motives lying back of public opinion, crowd behavior, and social determinants of psychotic behavior. The chapter on child psychology by Collins is excellent, but only the account of language acquisition and thought

modes of childhood is related to public opinion. The chapters on terminology, statistics, and intelligence tests offer little to students of public opinion. The same may be said for chapters on personality, vocational guidance, individual psychology, and the excellent chapter by Ginsberg on problems and methods of sociology.

The student of public opinion will find the chapter by P. E. Vernon on questionnaires, attitude tests, and rating scales most pertinent to his field of interest. It is a good critical summary with appropriate awareness of the limitations of mechanical statistical methods. The chapters by Richard and Nadel on anthropology describe certain difficulties in the interviewing of pre-literates which might have implications for persons seeking to find out how their fellows really think and feel. Along the same line, the scholarly chapter by Lindgren on the collection and analysis of folklore, with its account of type stories, methods of classification, technics of reconstruction and theories of motivation, could be decidedly helpful to the student of myth and rumor in present-day society.

The sociological chapters contain hints concerning interviewing in case work and in social survey which apply to the public opinion field. The American student of public opinion may find the chapter by Oeser on team work and functional penetration the most original and stimulating contribution in the book. It is suggested that a well coordinated team of specialist investigators go into a community and assume various functional rôles at different levels

in the social hierarchy. One member works perhaps as a laborer, another as a typist, a third at the professional level, etc. Interview schedules may then be worked out and applied with more adequate insight. "Stranger value" and generalized acceptance may both be achieved. A leader may assure flexible interchange of rôles and the neutralization of biased observation, and likewise provide an element of objective detachment.

The book has been reviewed from a frankly narrow point of view, with reference to readers interested in public opinion. It should be added that anyone interested in psychology or social science will find something of interest in this informative series of essays.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK
University of Minnesota

SUMMERS, H. B. (editor), *Radio Censorship*. New York: H. W. Wilson, 1939. 297 pp. (\$1.25)

This work brings together in compact, intelligently arranged form a wide variety of comment on the subject of radio censorship with interpretive introductions to each section by the editor, H. B. Summers of Kansas State College. While part of a reference series primarily servicing the debaters' market, the book's happy convenience and usefulness will be instantly apparent to all who research or write upon the subject and to these Mr. Summers' wide dragnet of original source material will be a grateful time-saver. Mr. Summers, an experienced rounder-upper of pro-and-con debate ammunition, has been informed and

realistic both in searching and in rendering. The book, thankfully, is not pedantic.

Radio censorship, which already has a fairly extensive literature as Mr. Summers' bibliography emphasizes, is a subject that has often been approached from a biased viewpoint with an eager preference for the exceptional and the grotesque rather than the mean daily average. At least two previous books of sheer indictment were very loosely documented and replete with dubious interpretations. The time element, too, has been unnoted, or perhaps unrealized, in much published comment on radio censorship. Thus the clumsy, bungling, bewildered mistakes of minor station executives, circa 1927, have been cited a decade later as "typical examples" with no explanation, and perhaps no awareness, that these episodes were no more important than a third grade student's halting efforts to master complex subjects.

Radio has profited by its own blunders, has digested the criticisms levelled at it and in the rough-and-tumble of democratic operation has made real progress in eliminating the glaring stupidities of yesteryear. A case documented prior to 1936 would, on the whole, be perfectly valid evidence of the lack of pristine perfection in broadcasters, the absence of inborn social consciousness, and the automatic tendency to favor the big shots. But for a balanced picture of radio censorship the incident must be related to its sequel and it needs to be underscored that most of radio's adult wisdom is a gradual

growth flowering during the latter years of the Roosevelt administration.

Mr. Summers' compilation of apt quotations, when digested from cover to cover, is a reconnaissance flight over the whole uneven, bog-dotted terrain.

ROBERT J. LANDRY
Radio Editor, Variety

SPROUT, HAROLD and MARGARET, *The Rise of American Naval Power 1776-1918*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939. 398 pp. (\$3.75)

At a time when the problems of neutrality, national defence, and possible American participation in war are again in the center of public consideration, it is peculiarly useful to have a thorough and well documented study of the way in which the American navy has grown and of the conceptions and policies which have guided that growth. Despite the vast changes which have taken place, the debate rages today in terms which are in many respects indistinguishable from those which have occupied us throughout the whole range of our history.

For the most part, the more strictly technical aspects of naval construction and policy have been ignored or given brief treatment in order to focus attention more fully upon the broader problem of the shaping of American lay, official, and expert opinion on the function of the navy as an instrument of national policy and on the basic strategic conceptions which have occupied the American mind. The fundamental

cleavage, coinciding, as the authors suggest, with basic sectional, economic, and social groupings, has from the outset been between those who wanted a cheap coast-defense navy and those who wanted a "regular sea-going navy" which would, potentially at least, have far more positive functions. To this sectional barrier to the formation of a single national policy for the navy must be added the more limited pressures of particular interest groups and localities on the watch for such spoils as might be furnished by navy yards, etc.

The beginning of the modern American navy the authors find to be in 1881 when the post-Civil War lethargy in naval matters started to crack, but the real dawn of the new era comes with Mahan, followed by his disciple, Theodore Roosevelt. Then the capital ship comes into its own, and broad sections of public opinion accept the doctrine, backed after 1903 by the organized forces of the Navy League, of the might of sea power and the necessity for the United States to take its place not only as a Great Power but also as an Imperial Power. With no trace of the pacifism which would probably have formed the undertone of such a work in the 1920's and early 1930's, the authors wholeheartedly embrace

the type of doctrine which Mahan and Roosevelt proclaimed and waste no opportunity to stress the lesson which they believe American naval history to teach.

That doctrine is, in brief, that the cheap coast-defense navy is a costly illusion which can serve no useful purpose except to console the timid in time of peace. Only a united fleet of capital ships can realize what is stated to be the major naval objective: destruction or confinement of the enemy's fighting fleet, as a preliminary to commercial blockade or military invasion. From the Revolutionary War to the World War they hold that the wise and farsighted view was that which recognized the need for a naval force which would give conclusive superiority to a considerable distance from shore as against any probable attacking or blockading force, while only the unwise and unwary trusted to keeping the immediate American shore line free of attack. In the concluding sections of the book the authors stress the new and dangerous elements that were introduced into the American strategic picture by the acquisition of the Philippines and the rise of Japan as a naval power in the western Pacific.

RUPERT EMERSON
Harvard University

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Compiled by BRUCE LANNES SMITH

In each issue, THE PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY publishes a continuation of an annotated bibliography which appeared in 1935 in book form (Harold D. Lasswell, Ralph D. Casey, and Bruce Lannes Smith, *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography*. Minneapolis: Published for the Social Science Research Council by University of Minnesota Press, 1935. 450 pp.)

PART I. PROPAGANDA STRATEGY AND TECHNIQUE

BLANCO WHITE, Mrs. AMBER (REEVES). *The New Propaganda*. London: Gollancz, 1939. 383 pp. Examines from a Freudian point of view the authoritarian propagandas of recent years. Author has been active in British Labour Party politics.

DURBIN, EVAN FRANK MOTTRAM; and BOWLBY, JOHN. "Personal Aggressiveness and War: An Examination of the Psychological and Anthropological Evidence," in *War and Democracy: Essays on the Causes and Prevention of War* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1938), pp. 1-150.

British social scientists approach the subject from a psychoanalytic angle, quoting such writers as Susan Isaacs and Edward Glover. Conclusion: Adolf Hitler is right in saying (*My Struggle*, English edition, p. 70) that "Men do not die for business—but for ideals." "The desire to destroy those upon whom they have projected all their own wicked impulses" is believed by the English writ-

ers "to play as large a part in civilized communities as it does in primitive. . . . In leaders this need is more pressing and vocal, but it is impossible to account for the hatred which can so easily be stimulated in ordinary citizens in certain circumstances without supposing that there is this need latent in everyone" (pp. 149-50). A program of childhood training is suggested. The adult societal contexts that determine whether repressed aggressions in civilized communities shall be discharged or inhibited are implied but not stated. The psychological propositions, however, are developed at length and with clarity. Bibliographic footnotes.

FREEMAN, ELLIS. *Conquering the Man in the Street: A Psychological Analysis of Propaganda in War, Fascism, and Politics*. New York: Vanguard, 1940. 356 pp.

Semi-popular exploration of the psychology of dictatorship. Dr. Freeman is the author of two texts, *Social Psychology* and *General Psychology*. Bibliographic notes, pp. 337-43.

LASSWELL, HAROLD DWIGHT. "Person, Personality, Group, Culture," *Psychiatry*, 2:533-61 (November 1939).

"The four terms which figure in the title of this article are among the cardi-

nal terms in the science of interpersonal relations. The purpose of this discussion is to clarify the method by which the meaning of these terms may be made explicit. The terminology owes something to the Cambridge logical school, and especially Whitehead."

PART II. PROPAGANDA CLASSIFIED BY THE NAME OF THE PROMOTING GROUP

Political Parties

BOUHLER, PHILIPP. "Einheit von Partei und Staat auf dem Gebiete des Schrifttums," *Nationalsozialistische Bibliographie*, Jahrg. 2, Heft 11, pp. i-ix (1938).

FRANKLIN, JAY (pseud. of JOHN FRANKLIN CARTER). 1940. New York: Viking, 1939. 319 pp.

By a Washington columnist who has been a New Deal employee at times. Seeks to meet the problem of strengthening the central government (and perhaps five regional governments) without impairing such liberties as the citizen now possesses. He would have government "approve or confirm major business appointments." Chapter 21 is on "Coordination of Public Opinion," advocating public yardsticks in the opinion industries.

GITLOW, BENJAMIN. *I Confess: The Truth about American Communism*, introduction by Max Eastman. New York: Dutton, 1940. 611 pp.

Communist Party of U.S., described over the entire course of its history in autobiography of one of its founders, who rose to be its candidate for Vice Presidency of U.S. in 1924 and 1928, and who was a member of Third International's Executive Committee and Praesidium. Asserts that neither Stalinites, Trotskyites nor Lovestonites have "anything to offer the dispossessed of Amer-

ica." They have, the author asserts, neglected to develop an American vocabulary and symbolism, and have therefore "continued to stew in the embalming fluid of the mummified Lenin."

HITLER, ADOLF. *Mein Kampf*.

Various editions are currently available: Unabridged German edition (Munich: Eher, 1939. 781 pp.); "Unexpurgated" English edition, translated and annotated by James Murphy (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1939. 566 pp.); "Complete and unabridged, fully annotated" U.S. edition (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939. 1000 pp.).

MOTTA LIMA, PEDRO; and BARBOZA MELLO, JOSE. *El nazismo en el Brasil: Proceso del estado corporativo*. Buenos Aires: Claridad, 1938. 221 pp.

"The Nazi International," *Quarterly Review*, 271: 189-215 (1938).

General survey, by anonymous writer, of Nazi propagandas in all parts of the world.

SAIT, EDWARD MCCHESENEY. *American Parties and Elections*, revised edition. New York: Appleton-Century, 1939. 790 pp.

Standard treatise by Pomona College political scientist.

Functional Groups (Occupational, Religious, etc.)

CHILD, CLIFTON JAMES. *The German-Americans in Politics, 1914-1917*.

Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin, 1939. 193 pp.

Scholarly study of purposes and activities of the National German-American Alliance and other German-American groups, by Englishman who wrote the book while at University of Wisconsin as a Commonwealth Fund fellow. Bibliography, pp. 181-85.

COOKE, MORRIS LLEWELLYN; and MURRAY, PHILLIP. *Organized Labor and Production: Next Steps in Industrial Democracy*. New York: Harpers, 1940. 277 pp.

Appraises controversial issues arising out of present relationships between managements and workers. Chapter 17 is on "Tapping Labor's Brains"; chapter 18 is on "Adult Education for Management and Men." Mr. Cooke is a specialist in scientific management who has served as Vice-Chairman of the National Power Policy Commission. He is the author, among other books, of *Academic Industrial Efficiency*. Mr. Murray is Chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Vice-President of the United Mine Workers of America, and Vice-President of CIO. Bibliography, pp. 266-70.

DANIELIAN, NOOBAR RETHEOS. *A. T. and T.: The Story of Industrial Conquest*. New York: Vanguard, 1939. 460 pp.

Public relations of American Telephone and Telegraph Company are dealt with in chapters 12, 13, and 14 of this comprehensive survey of the corporation by a New Deal economist. The exhaustively documented data are based on Federal Communications Commission's "Telephone Investigation." Bibliography, pp. 423-43.

GRADY, JAMES FRANCIS; and HALL, MILTON. *Writing Effective Government Letters*. Washington, D.C.: Employee Training Publications, 1939. 109 pp.

Manual on standards of clearness, vocabulary, "correct" usage for govern-

ment correspondence. Has been very favorably received by high officials of U.S. Civil Service Commission. Chapter 9 is on "Training and Supervision of Letter Writers." Annotated bibliography, pp. 101-09.

HEYEL, CARL. *Human-Relations Manual for Executives*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939. 253 pp.

Practical suggestions by Manager, Conference Planning Division, American Management Association. *Contents*: I. Getting Along with People. II. Developing the Working Force. III. Developing First-line Supervision. IV. Stimulating Best Performance. V. Making Work Easier. VI. Making Work Safer. VII. Paying People. VIII. Dismissing People. IX. Improving Management-employee Understanding. Bibliography in text.

PLUMMER, LEIGH S. *Getting Along with Labor: Practical Personnel Programs*, introduction by Daniel Starch. New York: Harpers, 1939. 107 pp.

Personnel management in 11 large U.S. corporations is described by staff writer of *Wall Street Journal*.

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES. *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States* (hearings, 76th Congress, 1st session, on H.R. 282). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939. Five vols. (3704 pp.) have been issued.

U.S. SENATE. COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR. *National Labor Relations Act and Proposed Amendments* (hearings, 76th Congress, 1st session). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939. 8 parts. (1564 pp.)

"The Vatican," *Fortune* (September 1939).

PART III. PROPAGANDA CLASSIFIED BY THE RESPONSE TO BE ELICITED

CLAPPER, RAYMOND. "Social Work and the Press," *Survey Monthly*, 75:365-66 (December 1939).

Well-known Washington correspondent tells social workers' conference that (1) social workers might learn from politicians never to be too busy to spend a few minutes with a reporter; (2) successful press agents "must be as intimately associated with the whole operation of the agency as anyone in the set-up . . . almost an alter-ego for the top executive . . . give the reporter access to firsthand sources, making it very clear what cannot be published and why. Leave no room for doubt or confusion on that point and 99 per cent of your trouble will be eliminated"; (3) social workers ought to be technical in their work, but never in the way they talk about it. "I have never liked the terms 'cases' and 'clients'"; (4) social workers can make news by calling in reporters to cover cases that are bound to arouse wide public sympathy and by stressing the speed and efficiency with which the agency leaps at the opportunity to render aid.

GEHBARD, BRUNO. "Mass Education by Health Exhibits," *Quarterly Review of New York City Cancer Committee*, 4:80-83 (January 1940).

"Success of the traveling exhibits on tuberculosis in this country is well known. The medium has also been used in the cancer field but usually on a small scale." Details of the management of traveling exhibits are given. Dr. Gebhard is technical consultant, American Museum of Health, Inc.

HILL, FRANK ERNEST. *Educating for Health: A Study of Programs for Adults* (Studies in the Social Significance of Adult Education, no.

15). New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939. 224 pp.

"How Can the U.S. Achieve Full Employment?" *Fortune* Round Table, October 1939.

LINN, WALTER ARMIN. *False Prophets of Peace*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Military Service Publishing Company, 1939. 367 pp.

A study of pacifist movements since the War of 1812 and their effect upon war. Bibliography, pp. 366-67.

MCDONALD, FREDERICK HONOUR. *How to Promote Community and Industrial Development*. New York: Harpers, 1938. 260 pp.

By a U.S. consulting engineer. Has a chapter on "Advertising and Publicity."

The Mental Hygiene Movement From the Philanthropic Standpoint. New York: Department of Philanthropic Information, Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company, 1939. 73 pp.

Brief and lucid summary of the achievements and possible future contributions of the U.S. mental hygiene movement. Available, for 25 cents, from National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 West 50th St., New York City. Bibliographic footnotes.

MILLS, ALDEN B. *Hospital Public Relations*. Chicago: Physicians' Record Company, 1939. 361 pp.

General treatise by managing editor of *Modern Hospital*, who was formerly executive secretary of research staff of Committee on Costs of Medical Care.

"The entire personnel—from floor maid, orderly, engineer, mechanic, clerk, telephone operator, hostess, admitting officer, technician and therapist to dietitian, social worker, nurse, physician and ad-

ministrator—has an important rôle to perform in the development of public relations." Principles of public relations are developed which may be applied to other objectives. Bibliography at ends of chapters.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION. *Social Services and the Schools.* Washington, D.C., 1939. 147 pp.

"A systematic analysis of cooperative relationships between public schools and public health, welfare, and recreational agencies and public libraries. Although many controversial questions were encountered, a framework of policy has been developed." —*Foreword.* May indicate rising social consciousness among the middle-income skill groups. Bibliography, pp. 142-44.

RIGNEY, ELLA HOFFMAN. "A Protégé of Electrical Union Number

Three," *Quarterly Review of New York City Cancer Committee*, 4: 74-79 (January 1940).

Public relations director of Committee tells of her experiences getting the cancer exhibit installed at New York World's Fair.

SAVAGE, WILLIAM SHERMAN. *The Controversy Over the Distribution of Abolition Literature, 1830-1860.* Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1938. 141 pp.

Bibliography, pp. 127-34.

SCHNAPPER, M. B. *Public Housing in America* (Reference Shelf, vol. 13, no. 5). New York: H. W. Wilson, 1939. 369 pp.

Debate manual. Bibliography, pp. 353-69.

PART IV. THE SYMBOLS AND PRACTICES OF WHICH PROPAGANDA MAKES USE

"America's Stake in the Present War and the Future World Order," *Fortune* Round Table, January 1940.

ANDERSON, EUGENE NEWTON. *Nationalism and the Cultural Crisis in Prussia, 1806-1815.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939. 303 pp. By Professor of European History, The American University. Bibliographic footnotes.

ANDREWS, JOHN N.; and MARSDEN, CARL A., editors. *Tomorrow in the Making.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939. 471 pp.

Symposium of 26 articles on contemporary U.S. problems by well-known writers. Chapter 2 is on "Social Progress through Education" (by Ned Dear-

born); chapter 4 on "Today's Propaganda and Tomorrow's Reality" (Clyde R. Miller); Lawrence Dennis writes on fascism, Norman Thomas on socialism, Earl Browder on communism.

BORKENAU, FRANZ. *The New German Empire.* New York: Viking, 1939. 167 pp.

Analysis of German expansion under the Third Reich down to the summer of 1939, by well-known Marxist scholar, who is author of *World Communism: A History of the Communist International* (New York, 1939).

BOWMAN, CLAUDE CHARLETON. *The College Professor in America: An Analysis of Articles Published in the General Magazines, 1890-1938* (Ph.D. thesis, sociology, University

- of Pennsylvania). Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Central Publishing Company, 1938. 196 pp.
Tabulation and analysis of magazine references to such symbols as "The Academic Personality," "The Academic Salary," "The Academic Life," "Teaching and Research," "Professors in Political Affairs," "Academic Freedom in War Time," "The New Deal and the Brain Trust," etc. Bibliography, pp. 190-94.
- CATLIN, GEORGE EDWARD GORDON. *Anglo-Saxony and its Tradition*. New York: Macmillan, 1940. 341 pp.
Proposes a confederation of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the U.S. The author is an English political scientist who has lived as much in the U.S. as in Britain. In America he has acted as Research Director under the Rockefeller Foundation in an inquiry into Constitutional Amendment. In England he has been an active politician and a member of the Fabian Executive Committee. Until recently he was Professor of Politics at Cornell University.
- EASTMAN, MAX. *Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism*. New York: Norton, 1940. 284 pp.
Well-known U.S. leftist writer examines conditions in Russia, concluding that the basic assumption of Marx that society is moving from a "lower" to a "higher" social form is nothing but "metaphysical self-delusion," a mixture of Christian theology with German philosophical mysticism, product of a century "saturated with optimism. . . . Notwithstanding his notable contribution to science, Marx's system as a whole will be set down as wish-fulfillment thinking in a form as crude and antiquated as it is ingenious."
- EMBREE, JOHN F. *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village*, introduction by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939. 354 pp.
First comprehensive social study of a Japanese village. Emphasizes transition toward Western culture patterns. Author is a University of Chicago anthropologist. Bibliography, pp. 327-29.
- FRAZIER, EDWARD FRANKLIN. *The Negro Family in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939. 686 pp.
Thoroughgoing history and analysis by Professor of Sociology, Howard University. Bibliography, pp. 641-69.
- GAVIT, JOHN PALMER. "Anti-Soviet Propaganda," *Survey Graphic*, 29: 32-3 (January 1940).
"Germany," *Fortune*, October, November, December, 1939.
- HADDOW, ANNA. *Political Science in American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1900* (based on Ph.D. thesis, George Washington University), with introduction and supplementary chapter by William Anderson. New York: Appleton-Century, 1939. 308 pp.
Who the political scientists were, "what courses they offered, what books they used, what ideas influenced them, what things each one particularly emphasized in his work, how the teaching changed from time to time, and how political science finally became disentangled from . . . other subjects. . . ." A chapter by William Anderson, Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota, deals with the period since 1900, concluding that "American political science today is a long step ahead of where it stood even a generation after the Civil War" (p. 266). Bibliography, pp. 269-96.
- HANKE, LEWIS, editor. *Handbook of Latin-American Studies: A Selective Guide to the Material Published in 1937*. Cambridge: Harvard University for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1938. 635 pp.
Annotated bibliography of nearly all material on Latin American social life that

was published in 1937. Continues an annual bibliography which began with the literature of 1935.

HARRIS, DAVID. *Britain and the Bulgarian Horrors of 1876*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939. 437 pp.

Analysis of a crisis in public opinion which marked a critical chapter in the lives of Disraeli and Gladstone. Author is Associate Professor of History, Stanford. Bibliography, pp. 419-25.

HAYS, ARTHUR GARFIELD. *Democracy Works*. New York: Random House, 1939. 334 pp.

Discussion of the economic basis of U.S. democracy, by attorney for American Civil Liberties Union.

HERLITZ, NILS. *Sweden: A Modern Democracy on Ancient Foundations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1939. London: Oxford University, 1939. 127 pp.

Constitutional and political development, briefly surveyed by Professor of Public Law, University of Stockholm.

HOBSON, JOHN ATKINSON. *Imperialism: A Study*, "third entirely revised edition." London: Allen and Unwin, 1938. 386 pp.

Reissue of a standard work that first appeared in 1902, by an English economist.

INSTITUT BALKANIQUE. *Encyclopédie Économique des Balkans*. Belgrade, 1938. Vol. I, 572 pp.; Vol. II, 527 pp.

Monumental study on the economic development of Southeastern Europe and its relationship to world economy, by the Balkanski Institut of Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

LAMONT, CORLISS. *You Might Like Socialism: A Way of Life for Modern Man*. New York: Modern Age Books, 1939. 318 pp.

LENIN, NIKOLAI. *The Theoretical Principles of Marxism* (Selected

works, vol. 11). New York: International Publishers, 1939. 772 pp.

LERNER, MAX. *Ideas Are Weapons: The History and Uses of Ideas*. New York: Viking, 1939. 553 pp. Essays by Williams College political scientist. An essay on "Freedom in the Opinion Industries" advocates that Congress pass a "Truth in Opinion Act" establishing a body of administrators to "regulate anti-social propaganda." In his opinion, this would aid the development of "democratic collectivism."

MCCONNELL, BURT M. *Mexico at the Bar of Public Opinion: A Survey of Editorial Opinion in Newspapers of the Western Hemisphere*. New York: Mail and Express Publishing Company, 1939. 320 pp. Prepared for Standard Oil Company of New Jersey by an ex-staff member of *Literary Digest*. Based on editorials in papers "published all over the nation" and in Latin America.

MERRIAM, CHARLES EDWARD. *Prologue to Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939. 118 pp. Four lectures on the newer approaches to politics by University of Chicago political scientist. Bibliographic notes, pp. 101-18.

MOWRER, EDGAR ANSEL. *The Dragon Wakes: A Report from China*. New York: Morrow, 1939. 242 pp. Far Eastern problems as viewed by well-known U.S. correspondent.

MOWRER, EDGAR ANSEL. *Germany Puts the Clock Back*, revised and enlarged. New York: William Morrow, 1939. 410 pp.

NEURATH, OTTO. *Modern Man in the Making*. New York: Knopf, 1939. 159 pp.

History of mankind from the earliest world imperia (Rome and China) to the present, presented mainly in the "Isotype" (pictorial statistics) language of which Dr. Neurath was the originator.

His theme is "the growing unification of world civilization," as illustrated by a great number of social indices. Bibliographic notes, pp. 135-58.

OAKESHOTT, MICHAEL JOSEPH, compiler and editor. *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe*, foreword by Ernest Barker. New York and London: Macmillan, 1939. 224 pp.

Compendium of source materials exhibiting tenets of democracy, communism, national socialism, Italian fascism, Catholicism. Bibliography at end of each part.

PARK, ROBERT EZRA. "News as a Form of Knowledge: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45: 669-86 (March 1940).

University of Chicago sociologist examines recent changes in public focus of attention. "In the modern world the rôle of news has assumed increased rather than diminished importance as compared with some other forms of knowledge, history, for example."

PARKES, HENRY BAMFORD. *Marxism: An Autopsy*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1939. 300 pp.

Scholarly reconsideration of Marxist premises by New York University historian. Includes an economic and political analysis of current events in U.S., and "An American Program" based on the work of J. M. Keynes, Gardiner C. Means, and Alvin Hansen. Bibliographic notes, pp. 261-90.

PAXSON, FREDERIC LOGAN. *America at War, 1917-1918*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1939. 465 pp.

Volume 2 of the author's *American Democracy and the World War*. Dr. Paxson is Professor of History, University of California. Bibliography in text.

POWDERMAKER, HORTENSE. *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the*

Deep South. New York: Viking, 1939. 408 pp.

Social scientist's analysis of culture-patterns (including opinion-patterns) in a Mississippi county during the post-Emancipation period. A native of Baltimore, trained at Columbia, Dr. Powdermaker is the author of several other anthropological studies. Bibliography, pp. 377-80.

RAUSHENBUSH, STEPHEN. *The March of Fascism*. New Haven: Yale University, 1939. 355 pp.

Survey of recent world events by U.S. economist who was secretary and chief investigator for the Senate Munitions Committee. "In the last major depression it took almost three years to bring a fifth of the population to their knees for relief. In the next depression probably half of them will be there in six months. They can be counted upon to bring with them a very different attitude toward the democratic State." They will confront the next depression with their reserves gone, "with bare bones and raw nerves." We must choose and choose very soon between "a strong State with its dangers of Fascism and a weak State with its dangers of Fascism." Mr. Raushenbush votes emphatically for the strong State. In it he sees the best antidote for the spread of Fascism in this country, for "people cannot eat freedom." Bibliographic notes, pp. 347-48.

SPEARMAN, DIANA. *Modern Dictatorship*. New York: Columbia University, 1939. 272 pp.

Extensively documented study executed at the University of London. Emphasizes psychological mechanisms that lead the public to support dictatorship. Bibliographic footnotes.

THOMPSON, JAMES WESTFALL; PALM, FRANKLIN CHARLES; and VAN NOSTRAND, JOHN J. *European Civilization: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1939. 1297 pp.

General history by three University of

California historians. Bibliography, pp. 1203-20.

WALWORTH, ARTHUR. *School Histories at War: A Study of the Treatment of Our Wars in the Secondary School History Books of the United States and in Those of Its Former Enemies*, introduction by Arthur Meier Schlesinger. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1938. 92 pp.

Bibliography, pp. 87-92.

WHITAKER, ARTHUR PRESTON, editor. *Mexico Today* (Annals of the

American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 208). Philadelphia, March 1940. 252 pp. Includes articles on "Political Leadership in Mexico" (by Henry Bamford Parkes); "The Labor Movement" (by Vicente Lombardo Toledano); and "Commercial and Cultural Broadcasting" (by Philip L. Barbour, official of International Division of N.B.C.).

WRIGHT, LYLE H. "Propaganda in Early American Fiction," *Bibliographical Society of America, Papers*, 33: 98-106 (1939).

PART V. CHANNELS OF PROPAGANDA

Agents Who Specialize in Managing Propaganda

BENJAMIN, ROBERT SPIERS, editor.

The Inside Story, by members of Overseas Press Club of America. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939. 263 pp.

Reminiscences by a score of U.S. correspondents.

CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN. "Mayor LaGuardia," *Yale Review* (Autumn 1939).

DAVIS, EDWIN W. *Advertising as an Occupation* (Occupational Monographs, no. 9). Chicago: Science Research Association, 1939. Pamphlet.

HOWER, RALPH MERLE. *The History of an Advertising Agency* (Harvard Studies in Business History, no. 5). Cambridge: Harvard University, 1939. 652 pp.

The seventy-year history (to 1930) of N. W. Ayer and Son, Philadelphia agency which ranks among the 5 or 10

largest in the U.S. By assistant professor in Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Consult also review by Paul Hollister, executive vice-president of R. H. Macy and Co., *New York Times Book Review*, November 19, 1939, p. 30. Bibliographic footnotes.

LIPSON, LESLIE. *The American Governor: From Figurehead to Leader*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939. 282 pp.

By Professor of Political Science, Victoria University College, New Zealand. Bibliography, pp. 269-75.

O'MALLEY, CHARLES J. *It Was News to Me*. Boston: Bruce Humphries, 1939. 409 pp.

Autobiography of Irish-American journalist.

"Portrait of a Press Agent," *Time*, January 8, 1940, pp. 44-5.

On Broadway press agents in general and Richard Maney in particular. "Broadway's press agents (officially known as press representatives) number some 50 (a few of them women). About 15 really count. . . . They earn a minimum salary of \$150 a week."

SINGH, ANUP. *Nehru: The Rising Star of India*, introduction by Lin Yutang. New York: John Day, 1939. 168 pp.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Nationalist leader. Dr. Singh, born in the Punjab, received his Ph.D. in political science at Harvard and has lectured widely in U.S. and Canada.

THOREZ, MAURICE. *Son of the People*, translated by Douglas Garman. New York: International Publishers, 1938. 237 pp.

Autobiography of leader of Communist Party of France. French edition: *Fils du peuple* (Paris: Éditions sociales internationales, 1937. 219 pp.).

Agencies Used in Disseminating Propaganda

ADAM, THOMAS RITCHIE. *The Museum and Popular Culture* (Studies in the Social Significance of Adult Education in the United States, no. 14). New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939. 177 pp.

AUGUR, HELEN. *The Book of Fairs*, with an introduction by Hendrik Willem Van Loon. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1940. 308 pp.
General history of fairs, beginning with the fairs of the Biblical city of Tyre, in 593 B.C., and so on down to the New York World's Fair and the Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939.

BRINTON, WILLARD COPE. *Graphic Presentation*. New York: Brinton Associates, 1939. 512 pp.

Most complete collection available of examples of every known type of graphic presentation: classification charts, organization charts, flow charts, bar charts; route, relief, aerial, symbolic, flow, contour, area maps; photos; slides; displays; exhibits; etc.

DAVIS, ELMER. "Broadcasting the Outbreak of War," *Harpers*, 179: 579-588 (November 1939).

Vivid account of events in CBS news studios amid the torrent of incoming news from Europe; by U.S. journalist and radio commentator.

DENISON, MERRILL. "Soap Opera," *Harpers*, 180: 498-505 (April 1940).

"Sob-in-the-throat radio dramas . . . known to the trade as 'soap operas' or 'strip shows'" (the first because soap manufacturers bear the brunt of the cost; the second, apparently because of the resemblance of the shows to a comic strip). "Six manufacturers are now paying for more than two-thirds of all the soap operas. . . . In 1938, a single advertising agency, Blackett, Sample and Hummert, bought 53% of the daytime and 8% of all radio time sold by both networks and local stations in the United States. The cost was about \$9,000,000; the agency commission \$1,350,000."

DODD, EDWARD HOWARD, JR. *The First Hundred Years: A History of the House of Dodd, Mead, 1839-1939*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1939. 63 pp.

EDWARDS, NEWTON. *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth: A National Responsibility*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1939. 189 pp.

Report to the American Youth Commission, prepared by Professor of Education, University of Chicago. Shows state and regional variations arising from uneven geographic distribution of children and of taxable resources, usually in roughly inverse proportion to each other. Includes comprehensive data on birth rates and population trends, internal migration, economic status, educational expenditure, per capita income, and taxable wealth, by states and by regions.

- ERCKMANN, RUDOLF. "Die Buchausstellung als Mittel nazionalsozialistischer Schrifttumspropaganda," *Nazionalsozialistische Bibliographie*, Jahrg. 2, Heft 10, pp. i-xii (1938).
Book exhibitions as a channel of Nazi propaganda.
- GILBERT, MORRIS. "From Usually Reliable Sources," *Harpers*, 179: 386-96 (September 1939).
General survey of press associations' handling of foreign news; by U.S. reporter and correspondent.
- HUGHES, HELEN MACGILL. *News and the Human Interest Story*, introduction by Robert Ezra Park. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939. 313 pp.
Study of transition of newspapers from political reporting services to entertainment and advertising media for "men who do not want to read." By sociologist trained at University of Chicago. Bibliography, pp. 292-303.
- ICKES, HAROLD LE CLAIRE. *America's House of Lords: An Inquiry into the Freedom of the Press*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939. 214 pp.
- JOHNSTON, WINIFRED. *Memo on the Movies: War Propaganda, 1914-1939*. Norman, Oklahoma: Cooperative Press, 1939. 68 pp.
By U.S. journalist and English professor. Surveys the intensification of hate-propaganda in the movies of all the Great Powers over a 25-year period. Bibliography, p. 65.
- KRANZ, HENRY B. "War on the Short Waves," *Nation*, February 3, 1940, pp. 123 ff.
Description of wartime broadcasts of European governments.
- MANLEY, MARIAN C., editor. *The Special Library Profession and What It Offers: Surveys of Fifteen Fields*. New York: Special Libraries Association, 1938. About 100 pp.
Collection of about two dozen essays from *Special Libraries*, dealing with the services and personnel of this profession. Written by special librarians and others acquainted with chemical, newspaper, banking, municipal reference, and other types of libraries. Bibliography at ends of essays.
- MASON, JOHN BROWN. "Psychological Aspects of Forum Leadership," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 25: 396-405 (October 1939).
Well-known forum leader applies *Gestalt* principles to the forum.
- PRINGLE, HENRY FOWLES. "WQXR: Quality on the Air," *Harpers*, 180: 508-12 (April 1940).
Station WQXR of New York City, owned and operated by Interstate Broadcasting Company, "has been making a vital contribution to the cultural status of radio during the past three years . . . broadcasts nothing but fine music, excellent lectures, intelligently presented news summaries and other programs aimed at the fit though few." Article describes financial status of the station and results of its reader-interest surveys.
- PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC. *More Than a Million*, revised edition. New York, August 1939. 16 pp.
Summary of the three years' activities of the group which publishes *Public Affairs Pamphlets*: how they select their topics; how they make their pamphlets readable; how they promote distribution through bookstores, colleges, public schools, conferences, etc.; how they measure the size of the publics they are reaching. "One-third of our 3,400 subscribers are individuals, not otherwise identifiable; 592 are school and college faculty or Board of Education members; 544 are libraries; 305 are organizations and clubs; 230 are business firms." Promotion is also carried

- on through syndicated newspaper mats, radio programs, and a leading textbook firm.
- ROTHA, PAUL. *The Documentary Film*, revised and enlarged edition. New York: Norton, 1939. London: Faber and Faber, 1939. 320 pp.
- A standard work on the history, principles, and technique of the documentary (informational) motion picture, by a well-known producer.
- STEWART, IRVIN, editor. *Local Broadcasts to Schools*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939. 239 pp.
- Symposium on experiences of six representative U.S. cities—Detroit, Cleveland, Rochester (N.Y.), Portland (Ore.), Akron, Alameda (Calif.)—which present local broadcasts to schools. Covers such factors as time, length, subject, cost, treatment, and results of broadcasts. The authors are officials in charge of the programs, who answered questionnaires and wrote essays suggested by the editor on behalf of the National Research Council's Committee on Scientific Aids to Learning.
- TALLENTS, STEPHEN. "British Broadcasting and the War," *Atlantic*, 165: 361-68 (March 1940).
- BBC official's version of BBC activities.
- THOMPSON, JAMES WESTFALL. *The Medieval Library* (University of Chicago Studies in Library Science). Chicago: University of Chicago, 1939. 681 pp.
- History of books and libraries from beginning of Christian era to the invention of printing, by a veteran U.S. historian. Bibliographic footnotes.
- THORP, MARGARET FARRAND. *America at the Movies*. New Haven: Yale University, 1939. 313 pp.
- Data on the 85,000,000 persons who buy admissions every week to 17,000 movie houses in 9,000 U.S. communities, on the psychological techniques used by producers, and on the activities of reform and censorship agencies. Chapter 9, "The Lure of Propaganda," discusses Hollywood's recent experiments with propaganda for a big navy, for the British, and for "social justice."
- U.S. FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION. SPECIAL INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION. *Report on the television industry*. 2 parts, 1939.
- U.S. NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD. *Collective Bargaining in the Newspaper Industry* (NLRB Bulletin, no. 3). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939. 194 pp.
- VITRAY, LAURA; MILLS, JOHN, JR., and ELLARD, ROSCOE. *Pictorial Journalism*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939. 437 pp.
- Principles and techniques of graphic design as applied to newspapers. The first two authors are U.S. journalists, the third, Professor of Journalism, Missouri.
- WALDO, EDNA LA MOORE. *Leadership for Today's Clubwoman*, introduction by Anne Steese Richardson. New York: Rugby House, 1939. 339 pp.
- How to participate in the activities of a woman's club. Chapter 15 is on "How to Raise Money"; chapters 16 and 17 are on publicity; chapter 19 on "Conventions and their Management." In America, clubwomen now number some 12,000,000, according to the introduction. Bibliography, pp. 321-24.
- WOLSELEY, ROLAND EDGAR. *The Journalist's Bookshelf*, second edition. Minneapolis: Burgess, 1939. 66 pp.
- Bibliography of U.S. journalism compiled by Northwestern University journalism professor. First appeared January 1939; second edition, October 1939, includes 100 more titles, with the addition of a section on radio journalism.

PART VI. MEASURING THE EFFECTS OF PROPAGANDA

HOVLAND, CARL IVER, and WONDERLIC, E. F. "Prediction of Industrial Success from a Standardized Interview," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23: 537-46 (October 1939).

A psychologist of Yale Institute of Human Relations and an officer of Household Finance Corporation report on reliability of a "Diagnostic Interviewer's Guide" (objectified face-to-face interview) developed as part of the corporation's method of selecting contact personnel.

ROSLOW, SYDNEY, and BLANKENSHIP, ALBERT B. "Phrasing the Questions in Consumer Research," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23: 612-22 (October 1939).

WICKWARE, FRANCIS SILL. "What We Think About Foreign Affairs," *Harpers*, 179: 397-406 (September 1939).

Results of Gallup polls are analyzed by an associate editor of *Fortune*. Table, pp. 402-6, gives a chronology of foreign affairs in parallel column with a chronology of polls relating to foreign affairs, 1935 to early 1939.

PART VII. PROPAGANDA AND CENSORSHIP IN MODERN SOCIETY

GALLUP, GEORGE HORACE. *The Place of Public Opinion Polls in a Democracy*. New York: American Institute of Public Opinion, 1940. 13 pp.

Paper prepared by Director of the Institute, for round table of American Political Science Association. Examines arguments against the polls: (1) that the level of public intelligence is low; (2) that political and economic problems are too complex to submit to voters; (3) that representatives will be transformed into demagogues by pressure of public opinion; (4) that public opinion polls will destroy the representative system and substitute direct democracy. Concludes that "a rigid dictatorship or any organization of political society which forbids the people to express their own attitudes, is dangerous not only to the people, it is equally a danger to the leaders who never know whether they are sitting in an easy chair or on top of a volcano."

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